

Class

92

1K631

Book

General Theological Seminary Library

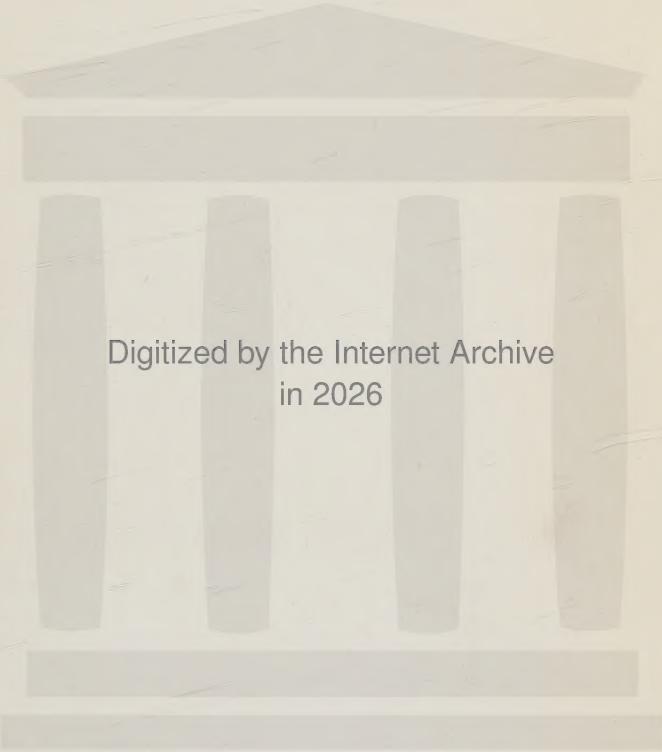
CHELSEA SQUARE, NEW YORK

Purchased from the fund bequeathed to the Seminary by

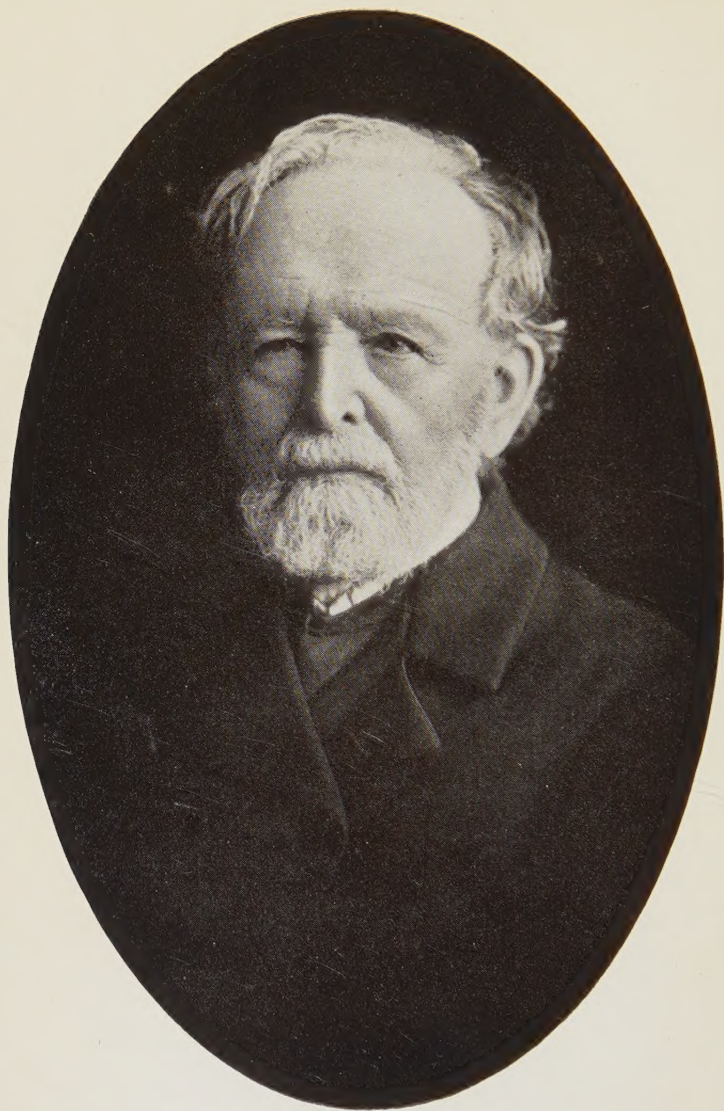
EUGENE AUGUSTUS HOFFMAN, D. D.

DEAN 1879-1902

An Apostle in Australia



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026



JOSEPH COLES KIRBY

An Apostle in Australia

THE LIFE AND REMINISCENCES

OF JOSEPH COLES KIRBY

CHRISTIAN PIONEER AND

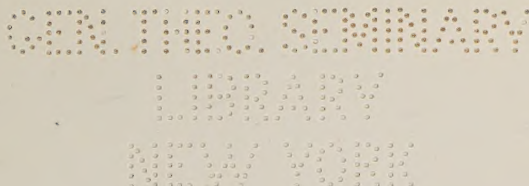
SOCIAL REFORMER

BY

EDWARD SIDNEY KIEK

M.A.(Oxon.), B.D.(Lond.)

PRINCIPAL OF PARKIN COLLEGE, ADELAIDE



LONDON

INDEPENDENT PRESS LTD.

MEMORIAL HALL, E.C.4

92

1631

83641

First published 1927

YARNER SENT 1930
YARNER
1904 W34

*Printed in Great Britain
by Turnbull & Spears, Edinburgh*

IN PIAM MEMORIAM
JOSEPHI COLES KIRBY

IN TERRIS AUSTRALIBUS PRO
CHRISTO POPULOQUE APOSTOLI, QUI,
BONO CERTAMINE CERTATO, CURSU CONSUMMATO,
FIDE SERVATA, PRÆMIO SUPERNÆ VOCATIONIS
DEI IN CHRISTO GAUDET

Preface

JOSEPH COLES KIRBY certainly deserves a biography: whether he deserves *this* biography is a matter of opinion. His life was intimately associated with most of the interests and movements that have affected the history of Australia from the middle of the last century to the present time: his varied activities brought him into close contact with many leaders in public affairs. He may fairly claim a place among the makers of Australia: few private citizens have done more to influence the course of legislation, or have striven more manfully in the furtherance of social reform. He had a large conception of the Ministry of the Gospel: nothing human was alien to him. Kirby was always an outstanding personality: he was constantly criticized, but could never be ignored: in any place or in any assembly he was bound to count, and everywhere he counted for righteousness.

The story of his life will naturally be of especial interest to Congregationalists, for Kirby was a typical Congregationalist in his entire freedom from narrow sectarianism: he was emphatically a Christian first, and a Congregationalist afterwards. He was proud of the traditions of Congregationalism, but in no way bound by them: he was indeed of opinion that Congregationalism needed a kind of reconstruction, if it was to meet the peculiar needs and conditions of Australian life. But the supreme interest of Kirby's life was the furtherance of experimental religion—religion born in a rich and

radiant awareness of the grace of God, but reaching out to the service and saving of every child of man.

He was both an evangelist and an educationalist : he was wise to win souls, and wise to train them. Intensely earnest, he was redeemed from any strain of fanaticism by a sturdy common sense that never lost touch with reality : he was both a crusader and a man of business. A man of God, he was also a man of the world. He had his limitations and his oddities : his best friends were sometimes constrained to disagree with him. But it can be truly said that those who knew him best revered him most, while the glorious work that he accomplished for Christ and for Australia will ever abide as his noblest memorial.

The following account of his life is based chiefly on his own extensive memoranda. Much that seemed of merely personal and local interest has been omitted, while much additional material has been collected through research in various directions. Several articles in *The Australian Encyclopædia*, notably the Rev. F. V. Pratt's account of Congregationalism in Australia, have been laid under contribution : unfortunately, the second volume of that invaluable work is not yet available.

I have to acknowledge assistance from various quarters. Members of the Kirby family, notably his daughter, Miss Margaretta Kirby, and his son, Mr Bevan Kirby, have helped to fill what would otherwise have been "lacunæ" in the narrative, and have supplied some interesting domestic reminiscences. The officers of the magnificent Public Library at Adelaide—especially rich in "Australiana"—have been most helpful. One of them, Miss Ethela Hale, has aided me by much collateral research. I am grateful to many friends in England,

India, Ceylon, and Australia who have kindly responded to requests for information on points of detail; the officials of the Congregational Unions of Queensland, New South Wales, and South Australia have been good enough to send me various memoranda, as have also the secretaries of the New South Wales Baptist Union and the Sydney City Mission. The Rev. F. V. Pratt, M.A., of Hobart, has kindly read the MSS. and corrected many errors out of the wealth of his scholarship. My wife has assisted with the index and in other ways.

The book has been written in scanty intervals of leisure snatched from College duties and other crowding engagements. I can only hope that it will serve to keep green the memory of one who served well his day and generation, and of whom a multitude of friends will never cease to think with gratitude and love.

EDWARD S. KIEK

PARKIN COLLEGE, ADELAIDE

October 1, 1926

Contents

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. A BOYHOOD IN BUCKINGHAM (1837-1854)	15
II. EARLY DAYS IN SYDNEY (1854-1863)	42
III. EIGHT YEARS IN QUEENSLAND (1863-1871)	63
IV. TEN YEARS IN NEW SOUTH WALES (1871-1880)	93
V. MINISTRY AT PORT ADELAIDE (1880-1908)	140
VI. A DENOMINATIONAL STATESMAN (1880-1924)	172
VII. PUBLIC QUESTIONS IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA (1880-1924)	193
VIII. THE EXPERIENCES OF A TRAVELLER (1891, 1903)	226
IX. A CROWDED EVENTIDE (1908-1924)	269

Appendices

I. JOHN ALEXANDER DOWIE	297
II. RECRUITS FOR THE MINISTRY	300
INDEX	305

Table of Dates

1837 (June 10)	BIRTH AT BUCKINGHAM, ENGLAND.
1850 . . .	ENTERS FATHER'S BUSINESS.
1854 . . .	MIGRATION TO SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA.
1860-1862 . .	THEOLOGICAL STUDENT IN SYDNEY.
1863 . . .	ASSISTANT MINISTER AT IPSWICH, QUEENSLAND.
1864 (Feb. 3) .	ORDINATION AT IPSWICH.
1864-1871 . .	MINISTRY AT DALBY, QUEENSLAND.
1865 (Dec. 12)	MARRIAGE TO MARGARETTA HALL.
1871-1877 . .	MINISTRY AT OCEAN STREET, WOOLLAHRA.
1877-1880 . .	GENERAL AGENT, NEW SOUTH WALES CONGREGATIONAL UNION.
1879-1880 . .	CHAIRMAN, NEW SOUTH WALES CONGREGATIONAL UNION.
1880-1908 . .	MINISTRY AT PORT ADELAIDE.
1886 . . .	CHAIRMAN, SOUTH AUSTRALIAN CONGREGATIONAL UNION.
1891 . . .	VISIT TO ENGLAND AND INDIA.
1903 . . .	VISIT TO HONOLULU AND SOUTH SEA ISLANDS.
1906 . . .	CHAIRMAN, SOUTH AUSTRALIAN CONGREGATIONAL UNION (Second Time).
1909 (Apr. 21)	DEATH OF MRS KIRBY.
1910-1913 . .	CHAIRMAN, AUSTRALASIAN CONGREGATIONAL UNION.
1915 (Mar. 27)	VICTORY OF "SIX O'CLOCK CLOSING" IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA.
1924 (Aug. 1) .	DEATH AT SEMAPHORE, SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

An Apostle in Australia

Chapter I

A BOYHOOD IN BUCKINGHAM (1837-1854)

QUEEN VICTORIA had not yet ascended the throne when Joseph Coles Kirby was born in Buckingham on June 10, 1837. It was a time of fierce agitations and seething discontents. The world was in travail, bringing forth a strange and often unwelcome infant called "Democracy." Many Englishmen were expecting the downfall of Monarchy and the House of Lords: the doom of the Established Church seemed nigh. Radicalism was rampant in the land; after a century and a half of repression, Dissent was finding a glorious resurrection. The vast problems created by the Industrial Revolution were clamouring for solution. Home-industries were vanishing, unable to compete with the new system of large-scale production. The land had been taken from the peasant, and now the peasant was vanishing from the land. Mills and factories were already covering vast areas in the North and Midlands with a pall of smoke. Splendid villas and sordid slums attested the twofold character of the economic transformation. England was rapidly becoming "urbanized." Soon the repeal of the Corn Laws would proclaim the triumph of the manufacturing over the agricultural interests. Railways had only recently been introduced, but already the land was

being covered with an iron network ; soon the stage-coach would cease to ply on the new macadamized roads. The Continent of Europe was all unrest : the backwash of the French Revolution was being overcome by a new tide of Liberal sentiment, destined to overwhelm a score of ancient thrones. France had just evicted the last of the Bourbons ; Belgium had emerged as an independent State ; Italian and German Nationalisms were beginning to challenge the watchfulness of Metternich. It was a season of confused expectancies and multiplied anxieties, of accumulated miseries and dawning hopes. Across the Atlantic Democracy was going to school : the juvenile Republic of the West had survived its infant convulsions, and already in the Monroe Doctrine had claimed the protectorate of a continent. Few, however, imagined that another great democracy was destined to arise under the Southern Cross : the convict-settlements on Port Jackson, Port Philip, and the winding Swan gave little promise of developing into a nation. Yet, in this very year 1837, Edward Gibbon Wakefield had begun in South Australia a scheme of free immigration, which marks the real beginning of the free Australia we know. The birth of Joseph Coles Kirby practically coincided with the birth of the State in which he was destined to exercise so large and fruitful an influence.

The religious situation in 1837 was, like the political and economic situation, full of threat and full of promise. In some quarters the tradition of the eighteenth-century rationalism still persisted : many of the ancient Presbyterian and Independent meeting-houses had become, first Arian, and then Unitarian. In others the struggle for the maintenance of the evangelical faith had issued

in a "Fundamentalism" as rigid as that of twentieth-century America : Kirby's life-long horror of "Rationalism" and "Unitarianism" was in part a heritage from these early days. But the narrowness of a crude orthodoxy was more than compensated by the fervour of newly-awakened spiritual life. The Evangelical Revival had not only created Methodism and quickened the Church of England : it had also awakened Dissent from the torpor which had been so widespread in the eighteenth century. Kirby's reminiscences amply attest the intensity of the message which was preached in the Independent meeting-house at Buckingham : it was a message that reached to the depth of human need : many besides the youthful Kirby were "strangely warmed." Some of us thought that, in his old age, Kirby was more than half a Methodist : when we consider the history of his early spiritual environment, we can see why this was so. It was the Evangelical Revival which created a new passion for experimental religion and a new zeal for the salvation of perishing souls ; early was the fire kindled in the breast of Kirby, and it burned brightly and strongly to the end. The faith which had inspired Wesley's apostolic journeyings through unevangelized Britain was destined to inspire Kirby's not less abundant travels through the back-blocks of unevangelized Australia.

There were other movements in that period—movements of which in later life Kirby could not fail to become aware. Four years before his birth Keble had preached in St Mary's, Oxford, that famous sermon on "National Apostasy," which was to mark an epoch in the religious life of England. The Latitudinarian school,

already challenged by Methodism and Evangelicalism, was now confronted with the challenge of a rejuvenated Mediævalism. On the other hand, there was developing in Germany a movement which was to offer a challenge to all the infallibilities. The literary and historical criticism of the Bible was beginning to attract the notice of the academic world. In 1835 appeared Vatke's *Old Testament Theology*, Baur's *Treatise on the Pastoral Epistles* and, most important of all, Strauss's *Life of Jesus*. Few English theologians could read German, or were awake to the importance of such books as these : even when the principles of the "Higher Criticism" began to be known in British circles they were long scorned as the joint-product of French infidelity and German rationalism. Twenty years were to elapse before Darwin and Russel Wallace would shock the religious world with the new-fangled doctrine of *The Origin of Species*, and initiate the generation of conflict between the New Science and the Old Theology. These movements indeed counted for little in the spiritual development of Kirby : he had no sympathy with "Ritualism," for he had none of those artistic tastes and antiquarian interests to which the Oxford Movement appealed, nor was he much interested in questions of critical scholarship, and he never really understood the new views of the Bible. Yet, curiously enough, he became an ardent evolutionist : he dreaded Driver, but welcomed Darwin.

If heredity and environment combine to determine the outlook and destiny of a man, Kirby could not avoid becoming deeply religious. Both his mother and his father came from a religious stock. Kirby was proud

to recall that his great-grandfather once sheltered John Wesley from the fury of the mob, and that his grandfather died while attending a Methodist prayer-meeting. But the Kirbys, from as far back as the Cromwellian period, were ever staunch Calvinists and Independents: the Arminianism of Wesley had in no way modified the austere theology in which Kirby was bred. His mother sprang indeed from a Quaker stock, though, strange to tell, she boasted an ancestor who had fought with the "Ironsides." Both the Kirby family and the Coles family had long been associated with Buckingham: this part of England had been notorious from mediæval times as a hot-bed of heresy and dissent. Kirby's radicalism was indeed rooted in the soil of the county whence he sprang: the spirit of Wycliffe's *Poor Preachers* and the spirit of John Hampden mingled in the soul of Kirby.

His father, John Kirby, was well known in the town as the proprietor of the Castle Flour Mills. The mill—a water-mill—had existed from the time of William the Conqueror: in ancient times it had ground corn for the Castle which stood on the neighbouring hill, where the Parish Church now stands. The mill had belonged to the Coles family for at least four centuries, and had come into John Kirby's possession through his marriage with Mary Bevan Coles.

Both the Kirby family and the Coles family had been at one time the inheritors of considerable wealth. Both his grandfathers were men of business aptitude as well as men of God, and each of them left a fortune of between £10,000 and £12,000. Unfortunately, no son on either side inherited the aptitude for business. It

looks as if this gift had "skipped a generation," for the subject of the present memoir certainly possessed in a high degree the talent for affairs which had marked his two grandfathers, though he was destined to employ it in better ways than in merely making a fortune.

The Kirby home adjoined the flour-mill; the hum of the machinery could be heard continually, except on Sundays. In those days Sunday was indeed a Sabbath to the Lord God. Practically the entire population of Buckingham was wont to repair to the various sanctuaries twice on the Lord's Day: those failing to do so were regarded as lost to all sense of respectability.

Kirby had pleasant memories of his childhood in Buckingham. In far Australia he was wont to think lovingly and longingly of the beauty of the English spring—a beauty to which Australia can offer no parallel—of the buttercups and daisies, of the crows circling in the blue heaven, and of the rooks that used to "caw-caw" in the old rookery at the barracks. Now and then the children were taken by their father for long drives in the family gig: they bathed and fished in the river, and in autumn would gather and store the apples from the orchard. Looking back, Kirby felt that he had been sheltered in childhood from much of the world's bitterness and evil, while he had much to nurture and stimulate the tender seeds of good. Trouble came later, as we shall see, but not then.

The earliest event that lingered in Kirby's memory was that of being awakened in the dead of night and carried to the house where his old nurse lay dying. She was singing the triumph-song of Zion as she went down into "the valley where sits the Shadow feared of man";

the echoes of that melody never died away in Kirby's heart, for it bore witness to the power of a faith which could snatch victory even from the grave. He recalled how the dying saint took him in her arms and prayed that he might grow up a man of God and might serve his day and generation well. Though only a little fellow he was conscious of the solemnity of the occasion: he looked back to that chamber of death as the birthplace of his dedicated spirit.

In the days of Kirby's early childhood, the home was shared by his maternal grandmother, Joanna Bevan, who had been the subject of a rather extraordinary religious experience. She came from a family which for many generations had occupied the Manor House of Drayton Parslow, in Bedfordshire: her early associations were with the Established Church. While at boarding-school at Buckingham she attended the Assize Ball, which was then an annual function in the town. She was actually dancing when there suddenly came upon her an overwhelming sense of sin and spiritual destitution. Unceremoniously quitting the gay scene, she entered on a period of acute inward stress. It was in vain that she sought counsel from the Vicar of her home-parish: he could only suggest that she was "gloomy-minded," and advise a course of dances and parties as the best remedy for this deplorable state. The young penitent turned with indignation from such a "Job's comforter" as this: she now began to haunt the Friends' Meeting House not far from her home. After much wrestling in prayer, her anxieties were resolved by a vision in which the Lord Himself appeared and offered her pardon and peace. She became a member of the Society of Friends,

and soon acquired the status of a "recorded minister." Her "concerns" were many, and she travelled far and wide in her evangelical labours. She was a close friend and associate of Elizabeth Fry, the famous philanthropist and prison reformer. Marrying Grandfather Coles, she became the mother of three sons and two daughters. Towards the end of her long life she made her home with Kirby's parents, and exercised a potent spiritual influence on her little grandson. Kirby was always proud to tell how the sainted Elizabeth Fry visited the Kirby home and that he had once been cradled in her arms. Mrs Coles passed triumphantly to her reward in 1845, which, curiously enough, was also the year of Mrs Fry's translation. Kirby was profoundly affected by his grandmother's death: her death, no less than her life, was a powerful testimony to the glory of her faith. The spirit of these old-time evangelists and reformers was destined to live again in Kirby himself: in him, as in them, was blended the passion for souls and the passion for social righteousness.

Kirby, like most of us, owed an inestimable debt to a godly and devoted mother. Every night, when she put him to bed, she knelt and prayed audibly on behalf of her boy. On Sunday evenings she gathered her family round her, and taught them from an illustrated Bible; thus Kirby began in childhood a life-long and fruitful intimacy with the great personalities of Scripture story. Mrs Kirby possessed a poetic temperament: she often visioned "the city which hath foundations, whose Builder and Maker is God." Like all the Quakers, she had shared in the noble crusade for the liberation of the West Indian slaves—the crusade which had culminated

in the Act of 1834. She talked freely with her children alike of the deep things of God and of those humanitarian causes in which true Christianity finds opportunity and expression. Kirby's mother was indeed a practical mystic.

In 1846 Buckingham was honoured with a royal visit. The young Queen Victoria came to stay with the Duke of Buckingham at Stow House, and passed through the town on the way. Uncle Joseph Kirby's drapery establishment in the Market Place affording a good view from its upstairs windows, the family repaired thither. It was just opposite to the spot where the royal carriage was halted for the Queen to receive a loyal address from the Mayor and burgesses. Kirby remembered that the Queen was accompanied on this occasion by the Prince-Consort, the little Princess Royal (afterwards German Empress), and the baby Prince of Wales (afterwards Edward VII). She was wearing the coal-scuttle bonnet which was the fashionable feminine head-gear in those days. This was not the only time that Kirby saw his sovereign: the next occasion was during his visit to England in 1891, when he was one of the crowd at a royal wedding in St George's Chapel, Windsor, for which occasion the widow-queen consented to emerge for a few hours from her long retirement.

The great annual treat of the boys of Buckingham was the eight days' training of the Royal Bucks Yeomanry, to which all the young farmers belonged and many of the sons of the business families in the town. The Duke of Buckingham was the Colonel: on this magnate all the juveniles looked with becoming awe. Every night the band played while the officers were at dinner, and the

children of the town gathered to the scene with joy. The day of the annual review in Stow Park was indeed a gala time for Buckingham. Kirby well remembered the thrilling days of 1848, when nearly all the thrones in Europe were falling before insurgent Democracy, and the Chartists were even more dreaded than are the Communists to-day. The regular troops were summoned to London to protect the seat of Government; the Yeomanry were all called out too. The men of Bucks were sent to garrison Hounslow Barracks. The Chartist demonstrations fizzled out in the face of the grim preparations of the veteran Duke of Wellington; some of the leading agitators were sent to prison, while others were officially advised to migrate to a warmer clime: they chose Australia rather than the place the Government would have preferred. Among the Chartist migrants was Henry Parkes, of whom more anon. The Chartist exiles introduced a strongly radical strain into Australian life, which meant much in later years.

At this date there were two Independent meeting-houses in Buckingham, known as the "Old Meeting" and the "New Chapel." The latter arose through a secession from the former in 1793. The fellowship which met in the "Old Meeting" dated from 1707, while the building itself had been standing since 1726; it was therefore an historic cause. Many burials had taken place in and around the meeting-house: Kirby remarks that it smelt like a vault. Kirby's parents were zealous supporters of the "Old Meeting"; his uncle, Joseph Kirby, a leading draper in the town, was one of the deacons. Every Sunday was crowded with sacred engagements; the family pew was always fully occupied

at both diets of worship, while the children were expected to attend morning and afternoon Sunday-school as well. Kirby told the degenerate Congregationalists of Australia that there were no "oners" in the old Buckingham days. Nor were the children exempted from attending on the lengthy and highly doctrinal sermons which were then the rule. In fact, the people generally felt themselves defrauded if the discourse lasted less than forty minutes. Ministers who ran short of homiletic material were wont to eke out the time with lengthy Scripture references, which members of the congregation were expected to look up and verify in their own Bibles. When the sermon seemed more than usually dry and tedious, Kirby would while away the time by surreptitiously reading some of the more exciting Old Testament stories: these, he thought, must have been divinely provided for the delectation of little boys in sermon-time. The morning discourse was commonly an exposition of doctrine for the edification of the saints, but in the evening the preacher sought chiefly the conversion of sinners. These evening sermons were often thrilling. The glories of heaven and the blessedness of the redeemed were favourite themes; even more frequent, faithful and fervent was the setting-forth of the eternal misery of the finally impenitent. So appalling were the pictures conjured up by the imagination of the preacher that at least one youthful auditor was often constrained to put his fingers in his ears. Kirby never forgot some of those early Buckingham sermons. To us they seem to have been crude, and altogether excessively dominated by the appeal to fear, yet there is ample evidence that they were often effective in producing conviction of sin and new-

ness of life. The preachers of those days were probably more sensible than their successors of the awful holiness of God and of the corresponding awfulness of human guilt : conscience, no less than imagination, was stirred by their appeals. It was a stern gospel that was preached at the Old Meeting in those days, but it was a gospel that made strong men and strong Christians ; it had a dynamic somehow lacking in much of our modern preaching of "sweetness and light." Kirby's own preaching reflected much of the spirit—much even of the phraseology—of those far-off times.

If the sermons of those days were often austere, and even terrifying, the young people were not without compensations—at any rate in Buckingham. It was customary for the brass band of the Royal Bucks Yeomanry to sit in the gallery and lead the singing. The hymns, like the sermons, were of portentous length, and the most popular were those which had swinging refrains in which everybody could join. The taste for hearty congregational singing, which was so marked in Kirby's later ministry, was born in that old meeting-house. Unlike some ministers, who tend to regard the hymns as unimportant incidents of the worship, Kirby loved no part of the service more than he did the service of song. It was part of the delightful heritage of youth.

Kirby was baptized by the Rev. Thomas Wilson Bridge, but the preacher of his earliest memories was the Rev. W. Rowe, a young man who came to Buckingham fresh from Springhill College, and exercised a vigorous ministry between 1839 and 1846. Though the little boy was naturally unable to follow the matter of his discourses, his solemn eloquence left an abiding impression.

At this time the minister of the New Meeting—which was a much more spacious and convenient building than the Old Meeting—was the Rev. David Watson Aston. Aston ministered in Buckingham for nearly half a century: he was a High Calvinist and dealt extensively in the terrors of the law. The Rev. James Sibree, D.D., contributes to the *Congregational Quarterly* of January 1926 some interesting reminiscences of this almost forgotten worthy: “He was a tall, handsome, old gentleman; robed in cassock and gown and bands, he used to walk on Sunday mornings from the parsonage to the old-fashioned square brick chapel. In silk stockings and bright-buckled shoes he looked more like a dean or an archdeacon than a poor Dissenting parson. He did a great work in the county, commencing services in many of the villages round Buckingham, which were mostly in a practically heathen state.”

In 1850 the venerable Aston was at last persuaded to retire on a pension. It had long been felt that it would be well if the breach made in 1793 were healed, and the Independents of Buckingham reunited under one sanctuary roof. This was now happily effected. In February 1851 the Rev. Samuel Bellamy was called to the pastorate of the reunited congregation. He was a cultured theologian of a kind then regarded as “broad.” In his Bible-class Kirby learned that the “days” of Creation in Genesis i. were really vast periods of time and not to be regarded as compressed within such a narrow space as twenty-four hours. But Bellamy was above all a winsome and persuasive evangelist: he was hungry for souls, nor did he hunger in vain. At the tender age of thirteen Kirby experienced what we may

call his "first" conversion; with the dawn of adolescence came also the dawn of "a light that never was on sea or land": he entered into a real consciousness of personal relationship with God. He felt also that he was set apart for God in a special sense; in his youthful soul there was an inward assurance that he was destined to be a minister of the gospel. For many years the way seemed closed, but he never lost the sense of vocation.

Kirby was, of course, made to attend Sunday-school at 9 A.M. and 2 P.M. on Sundays, as well as the ordinary diets of worship. On the whole he liked it, though he found it hard work to learn the catechism. Of his many teachers the only one to make any impression on him was a young draper's assistant who had a gift for graphic anecdote.

The Christians of those days were like the Christians of apostolic times in that they did not leave the work of evangelization exclusively to the minister; on Sunday evenings, after worship, the Sunday-school teachers were accustomed to take the elder scholars for walks in the country—walks which were made occasions for earnest conversation and even for audible prayer. To young Kirby these walks seemed like foretastes of heaven; it is, of course, possible that some of his boyish companions viewed them differently.

The relations between the Anglican and the Free Churches in the years of Kirby's youth were very different from those which are happily increasingly prevalent to-day. English Nonconformists had to pay a heavy price for their convictions; the State Church was socially and politically dominant, while Nonconformists suffered all kinds of disabilities and injustices, both legal

and extra-legal. In his later years Kirby often pleaded with his brethren to forgive, if not to forget, these ancient wrongs, but we should not be making a true picture of his early environment if we made no allusion to them.

The very situation of the Old Meeting-house was significant. It stood away from the public road, behind a row of cottages; worshippers found access by means of a narrow passage-way. At the date of its erection English Nonconformity could not afford to be ostentatious: the Quaker and Independent meeting-houses were commonly in back-lanes, for the simple reason that in no other situation were they tolerated. Even so, many of them were wrecked by mobs clamorous for "Church and King"—mobs that were often egged on by Anglican clergy. In those days a Nonconformist could expect little protection from the law and little sympathy from those who administered it. He was excluded from Parliament, from civil and military office, and even from municipal honours. It was only in the lifetime of Kirby's father that these disabilities were swept away.

It was not until the year before Kirby's own birth that Nonconformists secured the legal right to be married in their own meeting-houses by their own pastors. Previously they had to choose between a ceremony at the parish church or a marriage in the poorhouse. Kirby's father and mother were married in the parish church; the influence of his paternal grandmother, who was a staunch Anglican, explains this apparent lapse from conviction. But Kirby's uncle, Deacon Joseph Kirby, was actually married in the poorhouse. The Quakers were the only sect which secured more favourable treatment;

they made it abundantly clear to the civil authorities that, rather than accept the intolerable alternatives offered them, they would live together as man and wife without any legal ceremony at all. In this way they secured the right to celebrate and register marriages at a time when the privilege was denied to all other Non-conformist bodies.

A grievance which came home in a very practical fashion was the enforcement of compulsory church rates. Nonconformists had not only to pay tithes (land taxes) for the support of the Anglican clergy; they were also called upon to contribute towards the upkeep of the parish churches. This grievance became all the greater as the Anglo-Catholic ("Puseyite") revival affected more and more the teaching and practice of the Established Church. Many Nonconformists refused to pay the obnoxious rates, with the result that they suffered the spoiling of their goods: the bailiffs came, removed sufficient goods or furniture to cover the rates, and then sold them by public auction. Such auctions were annual affairs in Buckingham, as in other places throughout the country. For nearly two hundred years Kirby's ancestors had suffered under church rates, yet the iniquity continued. Intense bitterness was excited in the hearts of the outraged Nonconformists. At Buckingham the auction was generally followed by a public indignation meeting, at which orators from London and elsewhere denounced the church rates, the demonstration concluding with the burning of the vicar in effigy. It was not till 1868 that Gladstone carried an Act for the abolition of compulsory church rates.

Another injustice, which continued till 1870, was the

exclusion of Nonconformists from the ancient universities of England. On one occasion the lad was enjoying with his father an excursion in the family gig : a heavy storm came on and they were compelled to take shelter in a friendly farm-house. Soon they were joined in their refuge by four Oxford scholars, who drove up in a smart tandem. The elder Kirby talked with the young men ; he told them sadly that at his side was a boy who could never share their privileges because it was impossible for him to soil his conscience by renouncing the faith of his fathers. Kirby never forgot the incident : the iron entered into the young soul. The situation was all the more intolerable because representatives of the Established Church, while maintaining the exclusion of Nonconformists from the grammar schools and universities, added insult to injury by criticizing their victims on the score of their lack of academic culture.

Kirby commenced his secular education at an infant school kept by a Mrs Barker. From there he was transferred to a school for young ladies, kept by a Miss Raban. Here he learned not only reading, writing and arithmetic, but also history and water-colour painting. He eagerly devoured the annals of Ancient Rome and early acquired facility with the brush. There was then no good school for boys in the town : there was indeed an endowed grammar school, but it had fallen on evil days and is described by Kirby as " a farce." The boy was therefore sent to the Friends' Boarding School at Sibford, near Banbury—a school famous then and now among all who are interested in the work of the Quakers. The head master was Richard Routh, a thorough Quaker. As an educationalist Routh was in advance of his time : he

rarely or never used the rod ; his usual form of punishment was to prohibit a boy from speaking for a certain period in play-time ; when the period had elapsed the boy was expected to report ; Kirby says that the moral influence of this good and kindly man was so great that he was very rarely told a lie. His wife, Rebecca Routh, shared the control of the establishment, for at Sibford boys and girls were educated side by side. School sessions began with a period of silence and with the reading of Holy Writ : these sacred interludes occurred four times daily. Sometimes there were readings from the life of George Fox or other Quaker biographies. On Sundays the whole school attended both diets of worship in the local meeting-house—long periods of silence, sometimes broken by brief exhortations. The most frequent speaker was one Joshua Lamb, whose well-meant discourses were not exactly adapted to the interests and needs of young people. There was naturally a strong temptation to fall asleep on such occasions : this was officially discountenanced by appointing one boy in each form whose duty it was to require any suspected delinquent to “stand up.” Under these conditions, Kirby was wont to divert himself by counting the panes of glass in the meeting-house windows and by listening to the sighing of the wind in the trees outside. The head master and his wife, with other ancient worthies, sat on the little dais, facing the congregation : beneath his eye were all the children, none of whom dared venture to make an unseemly movement or a distracting sound. Kirby used to yearn for the bright hymns, the choir and the band, to which he had been accustomed in the Old Meeting at Buckingham. But hymns were sternly

discouraged at Sibford : one Sunday Kirby was actually sent to bed for singing " Here we suffer grief and pain " —a hymn that seemed to him entirely suitable, inasmuch as he had just parted for another term from his beloved father and mother. All the children had to wear sober brown on week-days, and sombre black on Sundays. Kirby's mother once provided him with a blue-striped waistcoat, with silver buttons, for Sunday wear. For one memorable Sunday he was the envy of all his school-mates, but the glory was too good to last : the offending garment was promptly confiscated, and next Sunday Kirby had the mortification of seeing his blue waistcoat adorning the person of the son of the local barber as he wended his happy way to a less rigid kind of conventicle.

At Sibford, Kirby came to know James Cadbury, who was a leading light on the school committee, and became still better known as one of the founders of the famous firm of chocolate manufacturers. Kirby's mother took him to dinner at the Cadbury home on several occasions. Cadbury was full of faith and good works : he was also one of the pioneers of the Total Abstinence movement. Many " Friends " at this time, including Cadbury, withdrew from all brewing and malting concerns, having become convinced that the dividends derived therefrom were " tainted." They willingly suffered considerable financial loss for the sake of having a conscience void of offence before God and man.

Another Quaker worthy whom Kirby ever remembered with pleasure was a Miss Gillett, afterwards Mrs Bevan Braithwaite. Though still a very young woman, she was already a " recorded minister " of the Society of

Friends, and occasionally spoke at "Meeting," to the great delight of the children. When she married, she acquired a kind of connection with Kirby, for the Braithwaites were related to the Coles family, to which Kirby's mother had belonged. Nearly half a century later, in 1891, Kirby was most graciously entertained by Bevan Braithwaite and his wife at their beautiful home in London.

Kirby early became a temperance propagandist. In 1832 seven young men of Preston, headed by Joseph Livesey, had formulated and signed the pledge of total abstinence: the infant movement found most sympathy and support among Quakers and other Free Churchmen. It was of course attacked and derided—within the Churches as well as outside of them. As a boy Kirby was made to drink half a pint of home-brewed beer before going to bed, and was occasionally allowed wine as well. His parents, like other people, believed that a moderate use of alcohol was beneficial, and indeed necessary, to health! Even the minister retired to the vestry for a glass of wine during the hymn before the sermon. But the missionaries of teetotalism penetrated to Buckingham: in 1848 Kirby signed the pledge. The eleven-year-old boy forthwith proceeded to organize a "Band of Hope": he was naturally the "Chairman." No Church or Sunday School would countenance so revolutionary an organization, so the juvenile enthusiasts were constrained to meet in a back kitchen. Kirby was proud to relate that he afterwards met one of those Band of Hope boys in Sydney: he had become a man of means and Mayor of Paddington, New South Wales. The seed sown in weakness had been raised in power.

One privilege of Kirby's boyhood days was that of hearing on various occasions the great Disraeli, who was accustomed to come to Buckingham on market days in order to ingratiate himself with his farmer constituents. Kirby often recalled how carefully Disraeli would rig himself out at such times, putting on farm-clothes and making himself appear as much like an agriculturist as possible. Nearly every other sentence would be prefaced with the words, "We of the agricultural interest." Disraeli was an actor indeed.

Kirby's school-days came to a premature end at the age of thirteen. Things had not prospered with his father as they had during the centuries in which the mill was in the hands of his mother's ancestors. The recent repeal of the Corn Laws, and the consequent agricultural depression, may have been partly responsible for the decline of the business. Kirby, junior, was now set to book-keeping and later learned all the ins and outs of the trade. He learned how to judge and buy wheat, and how to mix the different kinds of wheat so as to produce flour of varying grades—a kind of knowledge which in later years Australian farmers respected more highly than a nodding acquaintance with logic and Latin! Though but a boy, Kirby laboured enthusiastically to save the situation. But it was all in vain: the affairs of the business became more and more involved, and finally were swallowed up in the abyss of bankruptcy. It was a terrible blow to the family, and not least to young Kirby: it seemed to him that the very heavens were black and that all the music had gone out of life. He had to go to London for three months to help the bankruptcy officials to understand the

accounts : it was a winter of fog and drizzling rain. The only thing that relieved the misery of that time was the kindness of the friends with whom he stayed. All the furniture had to be sold, and of course it was necessary to quit the ancestral home. Thus Kirby's youth was early involved in tragedy : he was only seventeen.

The years in which young Kirby strove in vain to resuscitate the prosperity of the Castle Flour Mills were by no means wasted. The premature termination of his formal education only stimulated his zeal for self-improvement. In 1851 he became a member of the Buckingham Institute and Library. Here he obtained many good books and had daily access to the *Times*—and this at a period when the star of the great Delane was at its zenith. Victorian Independency was intensely political : it was a wonderful school of citizenship as well as a nursery of saints. The Kirby family was of course ardently Liberal : Kirby drank in Liberalism with his mother's milk. Now he became earnestly interested in the cause of reform : his wide and detailed knowledge of current affairs was ever an outstanding feature of his character. He no more thought of neglecting the daily paper than of neglecting his Bible. Magazines and pamphlets, reports and blue-books, were to him almost a natural food. He early started to accumulate cuttings, and indeed memoranda of all kinds ; by the end of his life his collection was enormous, yet everything was so carefully classified that he was never at a loss. Thus, in his youth, Kirby was being prepared for those public crusades which were to fill so large a part in his Christian service.

To this period we must assign the beginning of Kirby's

lifelong zeal for the establishment of Sunday Schools. Robert Raikes, of Gloucester, had died in 1811, but he had fired many humble souls with his own holy ardour for the welfare of little children. Among these was "Tailor Miles," of Buckingham. Miles was a most devout Christian, with a large family and a small income. One Sunday morning this enthusiast appeared at the Kirby home before the family was about : fifteen-year-old Joseph stood in his night-shirt at the top of the stairs to receive the summons to service. Miles wanted his company on a mission to Tingwick, a village some two miles from Buckingham. To this place of spiritual destitution trudged Miles and his young helper : they spent the morning in visiting all the homes in the village ; in the afternoon they started a Sunday School. Out of this Sunday School developed a small but vigorous church fellowship : the name of Tingwick—is it not written in the Congregational Year Book unto this day ? The apostolic tailor was as remarkable for his fervour in vocal prayer as for his interest in the Sunday School ; the memory of his consecrated personality was ever cherished by his young disciple. Kirby now took a regular junior class in the Sunday School : he modestly tells us that at any rate it had a beneficial reaction on himself.

One interesting experience of Kirby's youth was listening to a sermon by John Henry (Cardinal) Newman. Kirby happened to make a brief visit to Birmingham, and took the opportunity of attending service at the Oratory. The sermon was on Joseph's coat of many colours : a highly allegorical exposition represented the Church of Rome as the son whom the Heavenly Father loved to adorn with hues of indescribable beauty. Even to a

raw lad, such exegesis as this was scarcely convincing. But Kirby's attention was distracted from the great preacher : he saw a poor ragged urchin enter the church, place two pebbles on the ground, and then kneel throughout the sermon with his knees on these pebbles. This practical application of the principles of Romish asceticism produced in Kirby's mind an even greater impression than was made by the curious exegesis of the sermon. The act of that ragged boy was a revelation of how far the Romish Church had departed from those evangelical simplicities which to Kirby were the only things that mattered.

The Kirbys felt it to be impossible to stay in Buckingham, in the face of the catastrophe which had overwhelmed the business. It was financially impossible, and morally impossible as well. The old-time Quakers and Independents, whatever else they might do or leave undone, were great believers in paying twenty shillings in the pound : the shame of a bankruptcy was scarcely less than the shame of a criminal conviction, as many of the old rules of Church discipline abundantly show. It was a time when Australia seemed to offer an open door to affluence : the gold discoveries in Victoria had resulted in a flood of emigration. The Kirbys resolved to seek under the Southern Cross the fortune that in England seemed impossible to win. Grandmother Kirby and Aunt Mary Kirby found the money for their passage. In 1854 Kirby set out on the first, though by no means the last, of his long voyages. While Russian, Turk, Frenchman, and Briton contended in the Crimea, the young soldier of Jesus Christ was borne across twelve thousand miles of ocean to the scene of more than half a century of

spiritual warfare—a warfare destined to be far more fruitful of good than anything accomplished in the Crimea.

The party travelled second class in the Royal Mail clipper *Marco Polo*, sailing from Liverpool. Kirby bore upon his memory the cold and dreariness of that departure: the snow was deep on the streets and the wind howled in melancholy fashion, as though in accord with the sorrow that lay on the hearts of the emigrants. In the Irish Channel things were worse; everybody was ill, and young Kirby, like many other people in similar circumstances, wished he could be cast overboard. As the vessel entered warmer latitudes, these troubles ceased, but the heat of the equatorial regions soon brought new distresses. The seven hundred emigrants, formerly nearly frozen with cold, now gasped for breath in an intolerable heat. Most of them had no idea of staying long in Australia: they hoped and intended to make a fortune in two or three years, and then to return to England to live happily ever after! They needed the support of such an illusion, if they were to sustain the trials of the voyage. Kirby tells us that the first class was no better than the modern steerage, while the second-class passengers were packed like herrings. Fortunately there was little sickness, and only one death; this one death, however, left on Kirby's mind the solemn impression always left by a burial at sea. As the vessel passed into the cold latitudes south of the Cape, Kirby came on deck early one morning, to behold an enormous iceberg uncomfortably close to the ship. At the same moment Captain Clarke came running on deck, and immediately began to issue orders in a loud voice: it was the only time when Kirby heard the Captain use any bad

language ! The “ watch below ” was hastily called up : how those sailors did run ! The young passengers were enlisted to pull at the ropes. “ Pull for your lives,” roared the Captain, and pull they did. As a result of frenzied exertions, the ship gradually slewed round ; it moved alongside that iceberg, which seemed only a few feet away. All this peril had come about because the second mate, who was the officer in charge, had been drunk on duty : one of the sailors, realizing the danger of the position, had rushed down and roused the Captain in the nick of time. The second mate was placed in irons and kept there till the *Marco Polo* reached Melbourne, where he was deprived of his certificate and ignominiously discharged. The episode was certainly calculated to stimulate young Kirby’s zeal for the great cause of total abstinence.

At last the *Marco Polo* sailed into Port Philip. At Melbourne our hero was landed, while the rest of the family continued on the vessel to Sydney. He travelled overland to Sydney—no small undertaking in those days—and reached Sydney on a Saturday. He had no trouble in finding work, for he had had a decent education and was master of a trade. At Paddy Haynes’s flour-mill in Elizabeth Street he was engaged to sample flour at the princely wage of twelve shillings a day. He had what is called “ the miller’s thumb,” which particularly fitted him for this delicate work. This was his occupation until he entered on his College course. In the following week his father and mother arrived ; the family counted themselves fortunate to secure one large upstairs room over a stationer’s shop in Parramatta Street (now George Street West), for which they had to pay

£2 a week. Sydney was crowded; multitudes could get no shelter at all; houses were costly to build, and still more costly to rent. Thus it was that Kirby came to the land of his adoption. This chapter has been the story of his "genesis" and "exodus"; we must now see what became of him in the Promised Land.

Chapter II

EARLY DAYS IN SYDNEY (1854-1863)

WHEN the Kirby family arrived in Sydney, a population of about 70,000 had already settled on the beautiful shores of Port Jackson. For rather more than sixty years the colony had existed, but its early history had been stormy. It had originated as a convict settlement; it was governed by military men according to military ideas and methods. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the practice had grown up of transporting English criminals overseas, principally to the American "plantations." The secession of the American colonies (1776-1783) had therefore created a problem for the Home authorities: the opportune discovery of Australia appeared to offer a ready and satisfactory solution. From 1788 onwards shipload after shipload of convicts were "dumped" on the coasts of the new continent. It is only fair to state that many of these "criminals" had been sentenced for what would now be regarded as trivial offences: some few of them were really "political offenders"—the ill-fated apostles of nascent Trades Unionism. Many of the convicts "made good" in the new land; some of them became wealthy and respected citizens. But there were other settlers than those who came under compulsion: the attractive possibilities of life under the Southern Cross stimulated a stream of free emigration, which became a flood when gold was discovered in 1851. The free settlers were naturally opposed to the transportation system and to the system of military administration

which was bound up with it. Their opposition strengthened as their numbers increased. As early as 1823 a Legislative Council had been created, though its powers were only advisory. The Council was enlarged in 1828 and 1842 : in the latter year it acquired a more or less representative character. But the free colonists, led by men like William Charles Wentworth, Henry Parkes, and John Dunmore Lang, maintained a vigorous agitation for full self-government—an agitation that reached a triumphant conclusion shortly after Kirby's arrival. Kirby and his father, like most English Independents, were ardent Liberals and strong believers in democratic principles ; they welcomed with exceeding great joy the dawn of the new era in 1856 : " it seemed as though a darkness had been lifted from the land." Manhood suffrage and election by secret ballot were enacted in 1858. Kirby could fairly claim that he had " assisted " at the birth of Democracy in Australia : he was destined to make no small contribution to its development and consummation.

Kirby arrived at a period when rapid progress was the law of life in the colony. The gold discoveries of 1851 led multitudes of men to desert their normal occupations in the hope of attaining wealth in an easier and shorter way. The inrush of migrants from overseas hardly compensated for the shortage of labourers thus occasioned : the gold discoveries had much the same effect on the economic situation in Australia as was caused in fourteenth-century Europe by the Black Death. Wages rose to an unprecedented level. The *Sydney Morning Herald*, in June 1854, reports daily wages then current as follows :—

Bricklayers, plasterers, and masons	. 25/- to 30/-
Quarrymen, joiners, and carpenters	. 15/- „ 20/-
Bricklayers' labourers	. 16/- „ 18/-
Painters	. 13/- „ 16/8
Blacksmiths	. 14/- „ 16/-
Plasterers' labourers	. 12/- „ 15/-
Masons' labourers	. 10/- „ 12/-
Carters	. 8/- „ 10/-

Farm labourers received £40-50 a year (with rations), and shepherds £30-40. These wages seemed enormous to anyone familiar with English rural standards. They had indeed somewhat fallen by the early part of 1855, while the cost of living was much greater than at home. Kirby tells us that at this period bread cost a shilling for a two-pound loaf, and potatoes £5 for a cwt., while beef-steak was only a penny a pound. Pumpkins were extraordinarily plentiful and correspondingly cheap. The poorer people ate beef-steak and pumpkins thrice daily, while on Sundays they revelled in baked beef and pumpkin pie.

Tea-drinking had already become an established Australian habit: Australians are probably the greatest tea-drinkers in the world. Kirby was delighted to recall that his father about this time saw fit to abandon beer in favour of tea. Kirby's own zeal for teetotalism was mightily strengthened by what he saw of the ravages of drink in those early days in Sydney. Public-houses abounded and were open at all hours. The manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquor was a much surer road to fortune than the staking out of a claim on the gold-fields: many of the gold-winners squandered in a few days of wild carouse the hard-won gains of weeks and months of

toil. Kirby's keen observation noted the fact that fortunes made in the liquor business were often invested in real estate: in granting leases the very people who had made money out of liquor were generally careful to insert a clause prohibiting the sale of liquor anywhere on the property. Yet drunkenness was as common in Sydney as in eighteenth-century England: people in those days were no more ashamed of being fined for drunkenness than they are to-day of being fined for exceeding the speed-limit! But a nascent Temperance movement already existed, bravely led by the Very Rev. Dean John M'Encroe, a Roman Catholic dignitary of note. As chairman of a great meeting in the Prince of Wales's Theatre, Dean M'Encroe made a statement worth reproducing even now: "I believe I have attended more executions than any clergyman living, with the exception of my esteemed friend, the Anglican Dean of Sydney.¹ He has attended no less than 1500 convicts, sentenced by law to be hanged by the neck till they were dead. I have attended upwards of 1200 such executions. I can say with confidence that the chief cause of these tragedies was drink—accursed drink. Against this evil I have fought all my life and will fight till I die." Such a statement is a revelation of the savagery of the criminal law seventy years ago, apart from the significance of its vivid indictment of the drink evil. In passing, one cannot but regret that the Roman Catholic Church in Australia has lamentably failed to

¹ William Cowper, D.D. (1780-1858), Rector of St Philip's, Church Hill (1809-1858), Archdeacon of Cumberland and Camden (1848-1858), a friend of the aborigines, and a great promoter of higher education in New South Wales.

carry on the noble tradition of Dean M'Encroe. The greatest obstacle that Temperance Reformers have to overcome is the almost unanimous resistance of the Roman Catholic element, which is everywhere closely identified with "the Trade": three-fourths of the public-houses bear Irish names. I believe the American Prohibitionists have a similar tale to tell.

The Governor of New South Wales at this period was Sir William Denison (1804-1871), an officer of the Royal Engineers. He reigned from 1855 to 1861. He was mainly responsible for the inauguration of the deep-drainage system in Sydney. Both housing and sanitation clamoured for improvement: the rush of people consequent on the gold discoveries had made these problems acute. The municipal affairs of Sydney were in a state of corruption and confusion; the corporation was indeed in process of reconstitution (1857). The sewage question was now entirely removed from the purview of the town authorities and placed under the supervision of a board of commissioners appointed by the Crown. Furious opposition was raised by people, who objected to the expense involved in the setting up of the new system, but the reform was carried through in spite of all the clamour. Not only was the drainage improved, but the streets were repaved and a pure water-supply introduced. Denison was also zealous in pushing forward the construction of the first railway in New South Wales—a little line from Sydney to Parramatta, which cost £50,000 a mile. The line was opened in 1855 amid general rejoicings—trains running all day, bands playing everywhere, and drinking taking place on an oceanic scale. Kirby drily remarks that the chief

immediate beneficiaries of the new enterprise were the publicans.

The outstanding personality in Sydney at this time was undoubtedly the Rev. John Dunmore Lang, D.D. (1799-1878), minister of the Scots Church in Jameson Street. He was extremely active in civic as well as ecclesiastical affairs, and very much of a thorn in the side of the authorities. Lang had been in the colony since 1823. His abilities were great and his energy inexhaustible, but he was not a discreet or conciliatory person, and was involved in numerous quarrels within and without the bounds of the Presbyterian Church. Amid the despotism of the convict period his was almost the only free and fearless voice. He was an indefatigable pamphleteer and controversialist: the highest personage in the colony was not exempt from his candid and caustic criticism. He was a builder of churches and schools, an active politician who made and unmade Governments, and a strenuous advocate of reform in all directions. Incidentally, he found time to write many books of "Australiana" and to publish a volume of poems. He believed that one great need of Australia was "more emigrants of the sturdy Presbyterian and Dissenting type"—a need which some of us think is still very palpable. Kirby tells us that about this period Lang was left a fortune by a brother who had done well as a squatter; he at once departed for Great Britain and filled two vessels with emigrants of the kind he wanted. One vessel came to Sydney; the other, named the *Fortitude*, brought its passengers to Brisbane: "Fortitude Valley," in Brisbane, derives its name from this fact. Kirby affirmed that these emigrants became "the back-

bone of New South Wales and Queensland.” Many of them became wealthy—some of them very wealthy—but they spent their wealth freely in the support of religious and philanthropic causes. Lang found little sympathy from the colonial authorities whom he had antagonized, which makes his work in this direction all the more remarkable.

One event of this period, not recorded in the valuable article on Lang in the *Australian Encyclopædia*, made a tremendous sensation in Sydney and a great impression on Kirby. A certain wealthy lady—unmarried—seduced the affections of a married officer belonging to the regiment then quartered in Sydney. The deserted wife took her tale of wrong and woe to the minister of the Scots Church. Lang immediately made a public exposure of the scandal, which roused widespread condemnation of the evil-doers. But the letter which Lang had written to the Press brought him within the wide ambit of the law of libel. The wealthy lady instigated a prosecution, engaged the ablest lawyers, and secured the conviction of Lang. He was sentenced to three months in Parramatta Gaol. Before this period began, Lang was allowed one night at home under bail in order that he might arrange his papers and affairs. The news that Lang was to go to gaol next morning spread round Sydney like wildfire: the prisoner was universally regarded as a martyr. When day dawned all Sydney was present to “assist” in the proceedings. Lang’s progress to Parramatta was of the nature of a triumph. First of all was a carriage in which Lang sat with a policeman-escort; then followed a great company of the business and professional men of Sydney, marching nine abreast; then

came another multitude of sympathisers in carriages and cabs. Crowds lined the pavements and cheered the hero of the day, who was all the time bowing his acknowledgments. Next morning there was a table at every street-corner, bearing a petition for the pardon of "the Doctor." This was numerously signed: an influential deputation submitted it to the Governor. Authority bowed before the storm: Lang was pardoned after a brief imprisonment, and returned to Sydney as triumphantly as he had left it.

Lang had been a member of the Legislative Council since 1843—in the years before responsible government. A clause in the statute that established responsible government forbade the election of a minister of religion, but the clause was now repealed: Lang was promptly elected by a large majority, and retained his seat for ten years. Steadfastly refusing office and emolument, he vigorously chastised any person or party that seemed to deserve censure: he was indeed the incarnate conscience of the colony. Independent of party ties, he was all the more free to advocate the reforms on which his heart was set. Bitterly opposed to that excessive centralization which has been the bane of Australia, he was active in promoting the separation of Victoria from New South Wales (1851) and also that of Queensland (1859). Aware that the law of primogeniture is one of the principal factors in the mal-distribution of wealth, he fought for its abolition, with the result that most of the Australian States have now limited the right of bequest in such a way as to secure that fair provision is made for the widows and younger children of deceased persons.

These references to Lang are by no means irrelevant

to an account of Kirby, for there can be no doubt that Kirby was greatly influenced both by Lang's rugged personality and by Lang's outspoken views. It is hardly too much to say that the mantle of Lang fell on Kirby. In Church extension, in education, in social reform, we may see the spirit of Lang reincarnate in Kirby: his admiration for Lang may even partly explain his later leanings towards a Presbyterian system of Church government.

Another episode of this eventful period roused resentments in Kirby's mind which bore fruit in his later passionate advocacy of the much-criticized "White Australia" policy—a policy which few stay-at-home Englishmen rightly understand. In 1856 several great ships reached Sydney, carrying 3000 Chinese *en route* for the goldfields. The procession of these unusual migrants from quay to railway station was lengthy and imposing; to the multitudes that lined the streets it seemed big with menace. Marching through the streets in single file, every Chinaman carried his goods and chattels in two baskets hung from the ends of a bamboo pole. Public opinion in Sydney found its inevitable spokesman in the dauntless Lang. A public meeting was convened that same evening at the School of Arts. In a fiery oration, Lang moved a resolution in favour of imposing a poll-tax on the unwelcome Orientals. The poll-tax was duly imposed, but was not immediately effective. Wealthy Chinese advanced the money to needy compatriots. Not till the poll-tax was raised to £100 was the end achieved (1888). The importance of this incident lies in the fact that it marks the initiation of what is known as the "White Australia" policy—a policy from which

Australia is never likely to swerve, whatever may be the cost of its maintenance. Kirby believed intensely in the wisdom and righteousness of what many at home are inclined to criticize as a narrow and unchristian determination. Without necessarily assuming or asserting that one race is superior to another, it is perfectly possible to maintain that between European and Oriental there is a fundamental difference: Kirby believed that the intermingling and intermarriage of white with coloured people could only issue in the degradation of all concerned, and that the social and spiritual results of coloured settlement in Australia must inevitably be so bad as to outweigh any possible economic advantages that might be reaped therefrom. Even from the latter standpoint it is obvious that the benefits of cheap production might be far too dearly purchased at the cost of a wholesale lowering of hard-won standards of life and labour. We shall see how a later experience in Queensland revived and deepened Kirby's convictions on this great question.

Kirby had not been long in finding a new spiritual home in the land of his adoption. Pitt Street Congregational Church, the mother-church of Congregationalism in New South Wales, is a great auditorium in the centre of Sydney. It has indeed little claim to architectural merit: it dates from the worst period of church architecture. But it has been for three generations the centre of a vigorous spiritual life and social influence. At the time of Kirby's arrival, the Pitt Street pulpit was occupied by the Rev. Dr Ross. Ross had ministered at St Petersburg and then at the historic Baxter Church in Kidderminster. He was a staunch Calvinist and a preacher of marked personality and evangelical power:

he ruled his flock in a fashion that has vanished as completely as the stern doctrine he so eloquently preached. Regular attendance at church meeting was both expected and enforced: Church discipline in those days was not an empty name. No candidate was admitted to the fellowship without giving a satisfactory testimony to its assembly, nor did this ordeal exempt him from much visitation and cross-examination in a more private way. Great prayer-meetings were regularly held: the palmy days were prayerful days.

The distinguished ministry of Dr Ross was abruptly ended by a paralytic stroke: the old man retired on a pension, while the church entered on a difficult period of interregnum. Kirby retained many reminiscences of the preachers to whom he listened in those days. The task of supplying the pulpit fell mainly to the Rev. Samuel Chambers Kent, who subsequently built the Congregational Church at Newtown and became the first Principal of Camden College. But the men who most impressed Kirby were the Rev. William Slatyer, of Bourke Street, and the Rev. Joseph Beazley, of Redfern. Slatyer was a highly intellectual preacher and gifted with a noble voice. Every Sabbath morning he delivered a closely read and closely reasoned discourse, while in the evening he preached on more popular and extemporaneous lines. But Kirby thought his best efforts were reserved for his Wednesday evening addresses, for which he used no notes but most carefully prepared. Slatyer was exceedingly faithful in rebuking the sins of his people: his vehement denunciations won him the sobriquet of "Old Tear'em." Beazley was a preacher of a more modern type: he cared less for the broad ways

of systematic theology and more for the by-ways of literature and life. But he was no less zealous in exposing "the exceeding sinfulness of sin," and extraordinarily acute in his interpretation of the deep things of the spiritual realm. To Beazley belongs the credit for first discerning the true vocation of Kirby.

At this period Kirby was already active in connection with the Pitt Street Sunday School, though he had not yet actually joined the Church fellowship. The Sunday School numbered over six hundred scholars: the number subsequently rose as high as eleven hundred. The efficient and beloved superintendent was Randolph Nott, who was supported by a large and enthusiastic band of teachers. Kirby was placed in charge of a class of lads—from his point of view the most worth-while work possible. Through the Sunday School he came into contact with the bright personality of Henry Brougham Lee—engineer, lover of children, and temperance advocate. Lee enlisted the help of Kirby in starting a Band of Hope in connection with the Sunday School: he saw in Kirby a young enthusiast who had had useful experience of similar work in the Old Country. The movement spread throughout the city until nearly all the non-Anglican Protestant Churches had Bands of Hope. Kirby was soon in demand as a speaker at these meetings. He remembered one famous occasion when more than two thousand children marched in procession to the Botanic Gardens, where interest was sustained by brass bands and much stirring oratory. This was followed by a highly successful bazaar, which no less a person than the Governor's wife was induced to open. The crusaders thought the day of final victory was at hand; they never realized then

the strength of the adversary and the enormous power of entrenched habit and convention. They were awakened from their dreams by drastic action on the part of the Pitt Street diaconate. The good men looked askance at teetotalism: it was almost as bad as Socinianism or Arminianism. A ukase went forth that no more Band of Hope meetings should be held on the church premises. The undaunted Lee was equal to the occasion: he hired the School of Arts at a rental of £4 a week, and continued the meetings there. The modern Congregationalist who marvels at the rigid conservatism, not to say obscurantism, of those far-off days should marvel also at the sacrificial courage which faced and fought it. Even long afterwards, it was a very rare thing for a minister to be a total abstainer: a "dry" vestry was as uncommon then as a "wet" vestry is to-day. Kirby remarks that in his early ministry he often attended ministerial gatherings at which he was the only total abstainer present. The progress of teetotalism is certainly one of the most remarkable social revolutions of the last seventy years. Kirby lived to see the time when total abstinence became the practice of nearly all ministers and of the overwhelming majority of Church officers and members; he lived to see the fad of a few become the common law of a continent.

The vacancy at Pitt Street was at last filled by the advent of the Rev. William Cuthbertson, B.A. Educated at Spring Hill College, Birmingham (now Mansfield College, Oxford), and at the University of London, Cuthbertson entered on his Sydney pastorate at the early age of twenty-seven. He was a preacher of combined winsomeness and power, with a fine voice and an easy

delivery. His sermons were less doctrinal and more popular than those of his predecessor ; the church was soon crowded, and many remarkable conversions took place. Kirby was deeply impressed the first Sunday evening that Cuthbertson preached ; he entered on a new sense of personal faith in Christ as he listened to the graceful and earnest oratory of the young minister. He made application for admission to the fellowship on profession of faith. But, as already indicated, admission to the Church was by no means as easy then as it is now : for three months Kirby was called upon to undergo "repeated trials and approbations." During this period he was required to visit once a week at the home of John Fairfax, the deacon appointed to examine and instruct him in the faith. Kirby grimly remarks that Congregational churches in those days were not disposed to encourage "temporaries." It was not long before Fairfax was satisfied, not only that Kirby was a fit and proper person to be received into Church membership, but also that he was called and chosen to be a preacher of the Gospel. Fairfax in his own youth had desired to become a minister ; though he had become a successful and wealthy man in other ways of life, he never ceased to regret the non-fulfilment of his earlier ambition : doubtless this fact lent an added impressiveness to his appeal. The friendship and counsel of Fairfax were of immense service to Kirby : he never ceased to revere the memory of this great and good man.

Kirby now threw himself with even greater ardour into religious work. Along with his friend, John Pottie, a veterinary surgeon who had been trained at Edinburgh University, he took charge of the Young Men's Bible

Class, and soon transformed it into "The Young Men's Christian Society." The Society attained a membership of forty-five. From it came the first group of students to be trained at Camden College—W. Bradley, Alfred Lloyd, R. N. Morris, B.A., T. J. Pepper, T. Roseby, M.A., LL.D., and others—while Henry Wiles entered the Methodist Ministry and others became useful citizens in other walks of life, notably Edward Dowling, the pioneer of technical education in New South Wales. Kirby himself began to preach the Word in the streets of Sydney, heedless of the insults and even the missiles which fell to his lot.

Though Kirby had already gained considerable experience as a public speaker, he had still to conduct his first formal indoor service: how he came to do it is best described in his own quaint way: "Among the Congregational lay-preachers of Sydney was a gifted and devout, but highly eccentric brother named Theophilus Griffith. He had at one time been engaged to a cousin of mine at St Neots, Huntingdonshire; she had jilted him, but he bore me no grudge on that account. One Sunday morning he called at my home, and told me that I must get up—I was still in bed—walk seven miles to Concord, and preach in Miss Love's schoolroom at Kissing Point (the concurrence of nomenclature is rather amusing). In vain I protested that I had never preached, and that I had no sermon prepared. He said that I was accustomed to public speaking, that the Lord had sent him to call me to His service, and that, if only I prayed fervently as I walked, there was no doubt that the Lord would give me a sermon. So I went and prayed all the way, collecting a few scattered thoughts on John

iii. 16. The service of praise and prayer proceeded without any hitch; at last the time arrived for the sermon. I gave out my text impressively, repeated it several times, and muttered a sentence. But every thought was gone: I came to a silence that could be felt. It was most acutely felt by me. I hastily announced the last hymn, and fled from the place in shame and sorrow. But Theophilus was profuse in comfort; he attributed my discomfiture to the machinations of Satan, and urged me to try again. I did so with more success. In the end I preached on a Wednesday evening before the church meeting at Pitt Street, and was duly accredited as a recognized lay-preacher. My success was such that many of my senior friends now began to impress me with the conviction that I was called to the regular Ministry." The idea had really been born before Kirby left England, though it was not till this time that he had felt himself in a position seriously to entertain it.

The first man who had made definite approach to Kirby on the subject of the Ministry was apparently the Rev. Joseph Beazley, of Redfern. He had heard Kirby give an address at the annual meeting of the Band of Hope in connection with the Sydney City Mission, and had formed the opinion that there were great possibilities in the youthful orator. He now showed his faith by his works. He offered Kirby a course of private tuition in Logic and Rhetoric, Mental and Moral Philosophy, and Latin. During the greater part of 1859 Kirby read with Beazley two evenings a week. Beazley also made him write sermons for criticism, and taught him to love clear expression and hate mere verbiage. The trouble was that all this work had to be done in all-

too-scanty spare time : the young man was still earning his bread at "Paddy Haynes's" flour-mill.

It was therefore peculiarly fortunate—Kirby would have said "Providential"—that at this juncture he received a small legacy from a distant relative. Thus he was unexpectedly set free to quit the flour-mill and to devote himself for a season to uninterrupted preparation. A committee was therefore appointed to hear him preach a "trial" sermon, and to decide as to whether he should be accepted as a candidate for the Christian Ministry. This committee was constituted by the executive of the Colonial Missionary Society in Sydney : the New South Wales Congregational Union was not yet in existence.

Of this committee the most able and influential member was the Rev. John West (1808–1873). He had migrated from England to Tasmania in 1839, and was Congregational minister at Launceston, in that colony, for sixteen years. He was the head and front of the Anti-Transportation movement in Tasmania. A great conference was held at Melbourne, at which the various Australian colonies united in a solemn engagement to resist by every means in their power the sending of criminals to Australia. This really gave the death-blow to the old system. In November 1855, West came to Sydney and joined the staff of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, of which he became the editor, and so continued till his death. Though not in the stated Ministry, West was still actively associated with the work of the churches, and was especially interested in the foundation of Camden College, which was then in progress ; he subsequently became the Chairman of the College Council. He was

a good friend to Kirby and gave him Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon. Associated with West on the committee which examined Kirby were several leading ministers, notably Dr Ross, the Rev. Aaron Buzacott, and also several strong laymen, notably John Fairfax.

What happened when Kirby preached his trial sermon before this formidable committee had better be described in Kirby's own words.

"In those days I was a vigorous believer in preaching the terrors of the Law, so I took for my text 'The wicked shall be turned into hell, even all the nations that forget God.' I described as powerfully as I could what a terrible thing it was to be cast into hell, and dwelt on the eternity and fearfulness of the torments of the lost. I warned my senior brethren of the necessity for a sound repentance, and earnestly pointed them to the sinner's Refuge. That kind of preaching just suited them. They did not think of God as an amiable nonentity, as some moderns do; they sought the Lord with fear and rejoiced with trembling. I can never forget how at the close of the service the Rev. Dr Ross, venerable with years, labour, learning and piety, laid his hands on my head and said, 'Young brother, I am about to take the harness off; you are about to put it on. I have proved for many years that the Lord Jesus Christ is a good Master: I charge you to serve Him faithfully to the end.' Right nobly did Kirby fulfil this pathetic charge: maturer thought modified the crudity of his earlier theology, but never did he lose his passion for Jesus Christ and his yearning anxiety for the salvation of souls.

Camden College was then only in process of establish-

ment. Its foundation was due to the munificence of the Hon. Thomas Holt, who offered a large house and grounds for the purpose at half the market value. Edward Blackmore, M.A., an old Oxonian and a master at Sydney Grammar School, lectured five times weekly on Classics, Mathematics, and Logic, while the Revs. William Cuthbertson, B.A., and S. Chambers Kent were the theological tutors. The first student accepted was John Jacob Halley, son of Robert Halley, D.D., Principal of New College, London, and in 1855 the Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. The second student accepted was Joseph Coles Kirby. Both Halley and Kirby were destined to render long and honourable service to the denomination and to the Kingdom of God in Australia; the College had at least the advantage of starting with a pair of remarkable students. Another fellow-student was Thomas Roseby—afterwards LL.D.¹

Kirby flung himself with characteristic zeal into the appointed studies. Sydney University had been established in 1851; he looked forward with eagerness to a course at that institution. He was not temperamentally a scholar, but he knew the value of education and was ever an omnivorous reader. He was of course in constant demand for Sunday "supply" work, while he still maintained as far as possible his varied interests at Pitt Street.

It was during this collegiate period that Kirby sustained a great grief in the loss of his father. John

¹ The Camden College official Calendar states that the first theological students were admitted in October 1864, apparently overlooking the preparatory period during which Kirby was a student.

Kirby had been a broken man when he left England—broken in health as well as fortune. He soon became an invalid, and so continued for more than two years. The incapacity of the principal bread-winner had meant a dour struggle for the immigrant family, though they were helped to some extent by relatives in England. In after years Kirby was able to speak to the poor out of a bitter personal experience of poverty. “I remember standing on the rocks at Pyrmont, looking down on the waters of the Harbour glistening in the sunlight; in the presence of all the beauty I was myself greatly cast down. The difficulties of my young life seemed unbearable, while the waters exercised on me a strange fascination. It was the only time that I was ever tempted to suicide. However, I resisted the temptation, and returned to the hard battle.” John Kirby had been an affectionate parent, though as a business man he seems to have been lacking in concentration as well as capacity. His son inherited his good qualities of piety and virtue, but was happily exempt from his defects.

At the end of two years Kirby's College course suffered an unexpected and cruel abridgment. The serious illness of the Rev. William C. Drane, of Ipswich, Queensland, made it imperative to provide him with a colleague. No other man seemed available, so Kirby was asked to go. Kirby's experience was like that of many other Australian students. Churches clamouring for ministers, and not knowing where to find them, are apt to be impatient of College claims—an impatience which is sometimes shared, or at least abetted, by denominational councils and committees. Baptists and Methodists, even more than Congregationalists, have

suffered seriously in this way: the inadequacy of College training, and the tendency to abridge what there is of it, have in the past created no end of difficulty. There can be no doubt that Kirby, like others, would have benefited if he had received that strenuous mental discipline which only an adequate training in Arts and Theology can supply. His noble zeal for the education of the Ministry was doubtless partly inspired by the consciousness of the handicap under which he had himself laboured. He was not in the least an academic person; calm detachment and a serenely impartial judgment were not among his virtues. But he was intensely interested in theological as well as in social problems. Unlike many modern preachers, Kirby held a systematic theology, which he systematically taught. He was a keen admirer of the old Puritans; he had delved deep in the neglected mines of seventeenth-century Calvinism. Yet Kirby was not at all a typical "Fundamentalist": he occasionally "broke out" in daring speculations which were anything but orthodox. But his chief spiritual asset, as he faced the task before him, was that vital and vivid consciousness of eternal realities without which the most highly trained minister labours in vain, and with which the most imperfectly trained minister can hardly fail to win his guerdon of souls. If he used the language of what to most of us is an obsolete theology, his essential message was a Word which stands for ever as the answer of God to the tragic urgency of human need. So at the beginning of 1863 Kirby went to Queensland, hungering for souls, nor was his hunger long unsatisfied.

Chapter III

EIGHT YEARS IN QUEENSLAND (1863-1871)

IN the opinion of not a few who are well qualified to judge, Queensland excels all her Sister states in the richness of her resources and the possibilities of her development. Mr H. S. Taylor, of the *Murray Pioneer*, has christened Queensland "the Colossus of the North." The coast was partially investigated by Flinders in 1799; a further investigation was made by Oxley in 1823. A penal settlement was established on the Brisbane River in 1826, but the convict population was gradually withdrawn to Sydney, and the place was declared open only to free persons in 1842. The region was then known as the Moreton Bay District, and was under the jurisdiction of New South Wales. Thanks largely to the persistent propaganda of John Dunmore Lang, the Moreton Bay District was erected into the Colony of Queensland in 1859. The first Parliament met in 1860. Queensland had then a population of about 25,000: the annual revenue was less than £7000. "Little trade, no manufactures, wretched roads, defective wharfage, struggling townships, and poor schools marked that epoch." The area of the young colony was nearly equal to the combined area of France, Spain, Italy, and Germany. Kirby was to see the beginnings of the vast prosperity of Queensland. The grant of self-government led to a general advance. An effective Land Bill was passed, a good school system set up, and religious equality was finally established. The pastoral interest grew, while trade and agriculture went steadily ahead. The discovery of gold at Gympie in 1867

marks the opening up of the amazing mineral resources of Queensland: three years earlier extensive coal deposits had been stumbled upon by accident. The first railway line in Queensland was built the year after Kirby's arrival; we have already noted his interest in the opening of the first railway line in New South Wales.

Congregationalism in Queensland antedates by ten years the separation of the colony from New South Wales. In 1849 we hear of a group of devout people meeting for worship at Ipswich; a fellowship was formed in 1853. The Rev. Edward Griffith was sent out by the Colonial Missionary Society in 1854; a church was erected and opened early in 1855. Griffith shortly afterwards exchanged pastorates with the Rev. J. T. Waraker, of West Maitland, New South Wales; Waraker remained three years and a half, afterwards labouring for twenty-four years at Toowoomba. Griffith returned to Queensland to become the first pastor of the Wharf Street Church at Brisbane. Ipswich, the mother-church of Queensland Congregationalism, was a vigorous and enterprising fellowship; it set up branches in many of the surrounding districts and became the centre of a kind of diocese. The Queensland Congregational Union had been established in October 1861; new work was starting in all directions. Queensland provided the atmosphere and the opportunities that were most congenial to the pioneering spirit of Kirby.

The Congregational authorities in New South Wales, while agreeing to help the Ipswich church by releasing Kirby from College, were not unmindful of the gaps in his theological education. It was understood that he would be expected to preach only once on Sundays,

and that his senior colleague, the Rev. J. William C. Drane, would direct his further reading in theology, more especially along the line of those Old Testament studies in which Drane was thought to be a specialist. But Drane was in worse health than had been realized in Sydney, so these arrangements were very imperfectly fulfilled. Practically the whole burden of the church work fell on Kirby: he generally preached twice on Sundays, conducted the week-night meetings, and "visited" continually.

The situation at Ipswich during the year 1863 was indeed delicate and difficult, as it often is when two ministers are jointly responsible for the welfare of a church. Drane was an able, cultured and mature preacher, who, since April 1861, had exercised in Ipswich a ministry of considerable power and wide influence. Ipswich is twenty-four miles from Brisbane, but many were accustomed to travel from Brisbane on Sundays in order to "sit under" Drane: even the politicians and the lawyers yielded to his spell. Kirby, who had a lively sense of his own limitations, humorously observed that after the first trial they did not come to hear him! But he had his own gifts and his own constituency: the young people of Ipswich flocked to his more anecdotal and popular sermons: many yielded themselves to his fervent appeals. On one occasion a family, consisting of father, mother and daughter, were, unknown to each other at the time, convicted of sin and found peace and joy in believing. On the road home they made known to one another their blessed experience: they at once applied for membership. Their applications were received by Drane and the deacons with a

large degree of surprise and some degree of suspicion : such " conversions " were apparently uncommon at Ipswich. But the work of God was not to be denied : the applicants were admitted to the Church and became consistent Christians and fruitful workers.

It is significant of the rigidity of mid-Victorian Congregational orthodoxy that, at this early stage in his ministry, Kirby should become the object of a kind of " heresy-hunt." His apostolic ardour and the success which attended his evangelistic efforts might have been expected to stand as sufficient vouchers of his essential orthodoxy. But this was not the case. The coldness with which Drane received the first-fruits of Kirby's ministry is explained when we realize that he had grave doubts as to Kirby's soundness in the faith. Kirby was not yet ordained : technically he remained " in statu pupillari." Drane was nominally responsible for his training : it was for Drane to say when Kirby was to be admitted to full recognition as an accredited Congregational minister.

The explanation of Drane's attitude is to be found in his history. He had been a student at Newport Pagnell, where an academy existed for the training of men for the ministry of any denomination of Evangelical Dissenters or for the ministry of the Established Church. This academy had been founded by William Bull, who was minister of the Independent meeting-house in the town. Bull was intimate with John Newton and William Cowper : his academy was made possible by the munificence of John Thornton, an Anglican layman who was one of the " pillars " of the famous " Clapham sect." Bull co-operated with Newton in sending the

first Anglican clergyman to Australia : it is curious that the earliest Anglican enterprise under the Southern Cross should have been furthered by the counsel of a prominent Independent. On Bull's death the academy at Newport Pagnell was continued by his son. But the Evangelical Movement had been split asunder on the issue of Calvinism versus Arminianism : the Bulls, like other Independents, belonged most emphatically to the Calvinist wing : they dreaded Arminianism as much as they dreaded Romanism and Socinianism. It was in this atmosphere that Drane had been trained : he was inclined to measure the soundness of a man's Christianity by the rigidity of his Calvinism.

Now Kirby had come to Ipswich with a copy of Horace Bushnell's *Nature and the Supernatural*—a book to which he had been recommended by the Rev. S. Chambers Kent. This book—Bushnell's longest continuous work—had been published in 1858 : it, like his earlier treatise on *Christian Nurture*, had sounded a new note in evangelical theology. Bushnell's views had created a stir in America : the ultra-Calvinists everywhere denounced a writer who challenged their most fundamental assumptions. The main thesis of *Nature and the Supernatural* is that "the will, by virtue of its power of initiating action, is itself a supernatural agent." Drane had been taught to believe that the will of fallen man is as impotent as his nature is depraved. He therefore viewed Bushnell's book with abhorrence : he went so far as to say that, if Kirby persisted in reading it, he would never consent to his ordination. Edward Griffith, of Wharf Street, Brisbane, earned Kirby's everlasting gratitude by the way in which he stood by

him in those difficult days. In these circumstances it is not surprising that, when the twelve months of Kirby's engagement at Ipswich were expired, he declined to continue—a decision that may not have been disagreeable to the "Fundamentalist" element in the Ipswich Church. Drane held on at Ipswich till June 1864, when he was compelled by illness to retire: he died of consumption of the throat six months later.

Kirby was still unmarried: he was not even engaged to be married. He was fortunate in the home that was provided for him in Ipswich. Throughout the year he was hospitably entertained by Dr Henry Challinor, M.P. for West Moreton, and well-known as a protagonist of land-law reform: Kirby esteemed him as "a man of God." Kirby's keen interest in politics was naturally accentuated by his residence in the house of a legislator, especially as it was a year of acute controversy in Queensland. In the middle of 1863 the first Parliament of Queensland was dissolved: the ensuing election was largely fought on a sectarian issue. The struggle centred round the policy of the Right Rev. James O'Quinn, D.D. (1819-1881), who, after a brilliant scholastic career at the Irish College in Rome and a period of close association with John Henry Newman in academic work in Dublin, had been in 1859 consecrated the first Roman Catholic bishop of Brisbane. O'Quinn was naturally anxious to increase the numbers and the influence of his co-religionists in the new colony: he had been able to induce the Queensland Government to subsidize a rather ambitious migration scheme. Returning to his native Erin, the energetic prelate chartered ten ships and brought out no fewer than six thousand

Irish colonists. The policy of O'Quinn's "Queensland Immigration Society" was strongly supported by many of the wealthy squatters, rejoicing in the prospect of cheap labour. A strong body of Protestant opinion viewed O'Quinn's policy with extreme distrust and demanded that the Government should cease to lend aid or countenance to the "Queensland Immigration Society." The issue was crudely defined as "Quinn's-land or Queensland"? Elections in Queensland in the early days seem to have been very corrupt. Kirby tells us that the Romanists were told to "vote early and often": there was a great deal of impersonation and many dead men "resurrected" on polling-day. Kirby's account is borne out by other contemporary authorities. Nowhere was the contest keener than in West Moreton, where Dr Challinor was pitted against Patrick ("Paddy") O'Sullivan, a rough, warm-hearted and witty Irishman who was one of O'Quinn's chief henchmen. Kirby was equal to any Irishman in his love of a fight: he threw himself into it heart and soul. To Kirby—as to nearly all the Independents of that era—the idea that religion had nothing to do with politics seemed an absurd heresy: he believed that religion stood for public righteousness and clean politics no less than for personal holiness. The Romanists were soundly beaten: Challinor was triumphantly returned for West Moreton and Queensland remained "Queensland." Government assistance was withdrawn from the "Queensland Immigration Society," which was finally dissolved in 1865.

We have seen how and why Kirby was constrained to leave the Ipswich church when the twelve months of

his original engagement had expired. But, as often happens, one door closed only that other doors might open. His friend Edward Griffith, the real founder and father of Queensland Congregationalism, was not only satisfied about his orthodoxy, but was fully aware of his gifts as a pioneer. Many of the places in the "out-back," then as now, were without any provision for the religious needs of the settlers: the new-born Congregationalism of Queensland must claim a share in the glorious work of evangelization. He therefore urged Kirby to make a tour through the Darling Downs and see if there was any place where a "cause" might be successfully planted. Such a mission appealed to the adventurous spirit of the young preacher, whose burning zeal was hardly satisfied with the conventional forms of religious service. He was equipped for his task with an old grey horse and the sum of £10. His personal capital at this time consisted chiefly of numerous pairs of black gloves, this being the usual and the only fee for conducting funerals in Ipswich. Needless to add, he possessed other and exhaustless resources which the world knows not of.

Kirby's first objective was Warwick, a country township situated in a south-westerly direction from Ipswich: the distance by the road which Kirby adopted was some ninety miles. The track led through wondrous mountain scenery, commanding extensive and splendid vistas of hill and vale. "At one point I was so overpowered with the vision of the glorious works of God that I dismounted and knelt down: I seemed dazed and lost in the sense of the greatness and majesty of the Divine Creator: I spake with my soul in the words of the Psalmist—

‘ Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless His Holy Name ! ’ ” That night he lay at a wayside inn, which charged him a sovereign for the accommodation : he began to fear that at this rate it would not be long before his tour would be ignominiously terminated for lack of funds. Pushing on next day by uncertain tracts, he was faced with a more serious and immediate peril. He became hopelessly “ bushed ” (lost) among the lonely hills : it seemed not unlikely that he would collapse and perish, as many another pioneer has done : even the old grey horse appeared nervous and apprehensive. Just as he was abandoning himself to despair, his ears were assailed, and his heart renewed, by the distant echoes of a human voice deep down in a gully : it was a stray bullock-driver swearing volubly and cracking his stock-whip. To the distressed evangelist these unsanctified noises seemed as the music of Paradise : the next moment he uttered a “ cooe ” that echoed through the mountains. The bullock-driver “ cooeed ” his acknowledgment : it was not long before the minister of piety was safe in the company of the profane. The hungry Kirby was glad of the “ damper ” and meat which his new friend offered him : he was still more glad to know that only ten miles of straight road lay between him and Warwick.

At Warwick he was hospitably received by a family to whom he had a letter of introduction. He scoured the township and found a number of Congregational families. The local Presbyterian minister was very kind, and actually lent his church on the next Sunday in order that Kirby might preach to the people he had gathered. The little company decided to found a

“cause,” and unanimously asked Kirby to be the first minister. But he thought it wise to go further and to leave his answer till a later date. What exactly occurred in this connection the present biographer has not been able to trace: no permanent “cause” seems ever to have been established by Congregationalism in Warwick.

From Warwick Kirby made his way to Toowoomba, where he was cordially received by the Rev. J. T. Waraker (already referred to). After a day’s rest he was advised to proceed to Dalby, for which purpose he was armed with various letters of introduction. Here he was more fortunate. Reaching the township rather late in the evening, he asked a strolling pedestrian for the abode of James Aberdeen Jones, the local chemist, whose name had been given to Kirby as that of a likely “pillar” of the prospective “cause.” The man addressed turned out to be Jones himself, who at once offered the newcomer a hearty welcome and the promise of loyal support. He found quarters for the evangelist at the local inn, where the proprietor turned out to be another Congregationalist. Kirby carefully explains that he was an *American* Congregationalist: presumably *English* Congregationalists don’t keep inns! The American offered Kirby free quarters for a month—an offer which in the straitened condition of his finances he was only too glad to accept. Alas, the kind host was unable to resist the temptations of his calling: he fell a victim to drink and was finally buried by Kirby in a drunkard’s grave. Jones, however, proved a steadfast helper. Through his agency a ramshackle theatre, made of old kerosene tins, was hired for Sunday services, and an American organ borrowed to assist in the ministry of

song. On the Sunday morning there was a fair congregation, headed by the local police magistrate and his wife, while in the evening the place was crowded out. Dalby was indeed not destitute of spiritual provision : there was an Anglican clergyman, and also a Roman Catholic priest, in the place. Their presence, however, did not prevent horse-races being held in the main street on Sunday afternoons. Kirby grimly remarks that there were no races after *his* first Sunday ! In three weeks a "cause" was definitely established in Dalby. On January 18, 1864, the adherents, comprising people of all the non-episcopal denominations, extended a "call" to Kirby to become their permanent pastor. With the "call" in his hands, he returned to tell the good news to his friends in Ipswich and Brisbane. At this time there were scarcely more than half a dozen organized Congregational churches in all Queensland.

Now that he was entering on an independent and prospectively important charge in such a centre as Dalby, it was manifestly desirable that Kirby should be ordained. Edward Griffith, at any rate, was abundantly satisfied that Kirby had proved his call to the ministry. His collegiate training had indeed been brief and broken, but in those days it was fairly common to ordain men who had received no collegiate training at all. On February 3, 1864, Kirby was solemnly ordained at his former church in Ipswich. The Rev. J. W. C. Drane presided, having apparently overcome his scruples about the candidate's soundness in the Calvinistic faith, while the Rev. Edward Griffith and the Rev. Theophilus Beazley (Wesleyan Methodist) took part in the service. The occasion was marked by the presentation to Kirby

of a handsome pulpit gown, an act of thoughtfulness on the part of David Jones, a deacon at Pitt Street, Sydney, and a leading draper in that city. Kirby regularly followed the ancient Puritan tradition in the matter of wearing a gown, as indeed do nearly all Congregational ministers in Australia. He was ever a stickler for the dignity of the Christian ministry and welcomed any outward observances that might possibly enhance it.

Armed with this new status, Kirby returned to his country parish. It seems impossible to discover any official record about Dalby earlier than 1873. It was situated 140 miles by road north-west of Brisbane and 130 miles from Ipswich. The population of the municipal township was about a thousand, but there were some hundreds of settlers scattered about the surrounding district: indeed, Kirby was the only non-episcopal minister at that time within an area 250 miles long by about 40 miles broad. The Presbyterians arrived later and founded a Church which still continues, while the Congregational "cause" has now been long extinct. Dalby was a strategic centre for religious work, especially when it became, as it shortly did, the terminus of the Western Railway of Queensland. Kirby was always a good man for "spotting a site."

Kirby soon crowded the tin theatre, especially on Sunday evenings. Now, as always, he adopted the policy of "setting the child in the midst": he strove to build up the fellowship through the Sunday School. It was not long before a church building was erected and a fellowship established, while the Sunday School flourished exceedingly. He secured an allotment of land and built a house for himself—a wooden affair.

His widowed mother came from Sydney to look after his creature comforts: she remained with him after his marriage, and died in his home at Port Adelaide many years afterwards. Much of his life was inevitably spent on horseback; indeed, he kept his horse saddled and tied to the fence, ready for the minister to go anywhere at the shortest notice. He visited with untiring zeal the homes and "stations" throughout his wide parish, often being away for days together on distant journeys. He was in constant demands for baptisms, marriages and funerals.

Kirby speedily gathered around him a diaconate which included several of the leading people in the township. His chief helper was James Aberdeen Jones, the chemist previously mentioned as welcoming Kirby on his first arrival in Dalby. Jones was a young man of ambition. After a time he sold his business and went to the University of Edinburgh, where he graduated in medicine. He then returned to Dalby and soon acquired a good practice: he also resumed his former office as church secretary. Shortly before Kirby's own departure he migrated to Sydney, where he bought a practice in Balmain: he became a deacon of the church there and was soon well known to Sydney Congregationalists. His chemist's business was acquired by one Thomas, the son of a Congregational minister, and himself a good Congregationalist: he succeeded Jones as church secretary and was not less devoted in his support. Unfortunately he fell a victim to galloping consumption: on his death he left Kirby to be one of his executors, an office which often fell to the lot of the business-like minister. Yet another able servant of the Church at

Dalby was Thomas Slaughter. He proved an excellent Sunday School superintendent, and was a faithful helper at the weekly prayer meeting, on which latter institution Kirby set great store. Slaughter was also a lay preacher: he not infrequently occupied the pulpit when the pastor was absent on his distant expeditions. We shall learn more about him in connection with the agitation against the importation of Kanakas. He subsequently became a member of the Queensland Parliament.

Kirby's ministry at Dalby was of the fiery evangelistic sort. The influence of Bushnell, which had affected him at Ipswich, now vanished: Kirby found Bushnell's theory of the Atonement inadequate and returned to the old positions. This reversion was associated with a renewed experience of Christ which filled his soul with joy in believing. "It was a sweet, holy and awful experience of oceanic Love: I seemed to be made free of entrance to a world of unutterable glory and delight." This experience naturally affected and intensified Kirby's preaching: his soul was gladdened by a series of indubitable "conversions."

Two of these conversions stood out prominently in Kirby's memory. The first was that of a young bank manager—a fellow of marked ability. He had been brought up in an atmosphere of Methodist piety, but had utterly renounced religion and became a blasphemer of the worst sort: his language shocked even the irreligious. But one Sunday evening, as he sat at tea, he suddenly realized that it was his dead mother's birthday: he felt the horror of his own spiritual condition: a strange compulsion seemed to drive him to the Con-

gregational church. The message went home with such power that he there and then resolved to lead a new life. As he did so there came to him such a sweet sense of peace and joy that he had hard work to restrain himself from dancing and shouting during the service. He sought out the minister and told his story. He abandoned his drinkings and his profanities : he undertook the organization of the choir and remained a faithful helper throughout Kirby's ministry in Dalby. He eventually became one of the leading men in Queensland and a minister of the Crown. Even more remarkable was the case of Charles Buell. He was the eldest son of a prosperous farmer : both father and mother were devout members of the Church. But Charles took to drink and betting : he was regarded by the police as about the worst character in the district. He became a thief and a vagabond. But somehow this prodigal son was led to attend one of Kirby's services in the ramshackle theatre. When Kirby returned to his lodging after the service he found young Buell at the garden gate. He was anxious and haggard. Kirby talked and prayed with him, but seemed to produce no immediate effect : Charles, however, promised to come again in the morning. He came in the morning, with a radiance on his countenance that was not at all due to the outward sunshine : he had found the reality of religion. After leaving Kirby the previous evening he had gone into the forest in anguish of soul and there had wrestled with his God. With strong tears and crying he implored the mercy he needed so much. Curiously enough, all this was overheard by a magistrate whose home was near at hand : he recognized the voice, for Charles Buell had

stood before him in the court on many occasions. The magistrate was tactful enough to leave the penitent alone with the Eternal. Thus did Charles Buell find the way of life. Nor was this all. Filled with Divine love and compassion, he became an unofficial evangelist: he visited all the people he could reach and preached to others the message that had saved himself. The police now declared that he had become one of the greatest influences for good in Dalby. He died of consumption a few years afterwards, passing triumphantly through the valley of the shadow.

Among the prizes of Charles Buell's evangelistic activities was an aged man who had been a convict in the early days. This man had been born and bred in the slums of London. An unnatural father drove him from the hovel that he called "home": the young boy fell into the hands of a scoundrel whose business in life was to train lads in the gentle art of petty larceny. The boy was speedily in the hands of the police: he was sent to Botany Bay as a convict. He broke the law in Australia and suffered an extension of his original sentence. All authorities agree that the spiritual destitution and moral degradation of these unfortunate convicts can hardly be exaggerated: this man was no exception to the rule. He was totally ignorant of Holy Scripture and of the most elementary facts of the Gospel. On his release he prospered: at the time when Buell met him he had a comfortable home in Dalby. Buell called on him and presented him with a large-print New Testament obtained through the good offices of the Bible Society in Brisbane. The old man was lost in wonder at its contents and spent most of his time in reading the

precious volume. He became a fervent Christian : the life that had been so clouded with tragedy ended in "the peace that passeth all understanding." It was in ministering to the deep needs of such souls as these that Kirby found the chief joy of his ministry.

Kirby maintained good relations with his Anglican and Romanist colleagues in Dalby. The priest of the Roman Catholic community was a Frenchman. Kirby noted that he was a man of superior culture and free from that bitter hatred of all things English which so often marked the Irish clergy. The Frenchman laboured under a deep sense of sin : he was unceasing in vigils and ascetic practices. Among other things he wore an iron cross on his breast, with spikes so arranged that they constantly penetrated his flesh. Kirby had many conversations with this devotee : he was impressed by the contrast between his anxious endeavours to "expiate" his sins and the calm faith in the expiation of Another which marked men like Charles Buell and the ex-convict. The contrast strengthened Kirby's faith : he preached with new passion the truth that "by grace ye are saved through faith."

His relations with the French priest were apparently unaffected by the following amusing incident. Belonging to Kirby's congregation was a wealthy squatter of Scotch descent. This man had married a Roman Catholic wife, but had made no compact as to the religion of any children that might be born of the marriage. The sequel may be told as Kirby told it : "A domestic event was expected in the home of Mr R. He called on me and said, 'You must keep a horse ready any time day or night. I will send a groom to let

you know when anything occurs. Don't delay : come at once and baptize the baby. My wife is keeping a horse saddled and a man under orders to fetch the priest and make the child a little Romanist. Very early one morning the groom appeared. I jumped on my horse and galloped off as for dear life. I was there first and had baptized the baby and eaten my breakfast before the priest came on the scene. The same thing happened four or five times in succession. All the babies were made into Protestants : Rome never got one. I rather suspect that the man who went for the priest was not anxious to win : he might have offended the master and got 'the sack.' It is a pitiful thing for Protestants and Catholics to marry : it brings much discord and misery."

Father Le Bean was more congenial to Kirby than the priest who came to Dalby after the good Frenchman had passed away. Father Larkin was a witty Irishman with an endless fund of side-splitting stories, told as only an Irishman can tell them. He was utterly untroubled about theological matters : his great delight was to get into a bar parlour with a bottle of whisky, a pipe of tobacco, and a laughing company gathered round. He was a godsend to the publicans, for the presence of Father Larkin soon caused any bar parlour to fill up. He caught Kirby one afternoon and made him join the party, though Kirby was willing neither to drink nor smoke. Kirby was rewarded for his acceptance with one of the merriest afternoons that he ever spent : the priest's stories were irresistible.

Mingled with Kirby's strong common sense and practical ability was a mystical strain of which many of his

friends would hardly have suspected him. We have already alluded to some of his "experiences." He tells a story of his time at Dalby which is worth reproducing, if only in view of present-day interest in "spiritistic" phenomena. In the previous chapter we recorded the death of his father, John Kirby, as occurring during his brief collegiate course. He writes: "Years afterwards, while I was riding one evening near Jondaryan, some distance east of Dalby, I suddenly became conscious of a presence accompanying me. I knew it was my father: I even believed that, if I looked to the right, I should see him. But I was afraid, and dared not turn my head: I spurred my horse to a gallop, as if to escape. For about two miles this strange consciousness remained with me, until I reached the station for which I was making." Of course the episode may have been only a freak of the imagination: who knows? At any rate it was the only time that Kirby ever had this kind of experience: he was deeply interested in the life beyond the grave, but he never, so far as the present biographer can ascertain, took any stock of the kind of "evidence" so widely popularized through the witness of people like Sir Arthur Conan Doyle and Sir Oliver Lodge: the Jondaryan episode stands alone.

Another story—both sad and amusing—remains of the Dalby days. Kirby was asked to visit a local publican—an ex-convict—who was rapidly approaching his end. Kirby of course went. At one end of the room lay the sick man, gasping for breath: at the other was a tea-table, plentifully set, at which the publican's wife was sitting with two or three of her cronies, apparently not much affected by her husband's approaching decease.

Kirby addressed himself with his usual earnestness to the dying man, but the latter was so far "in extremis" that it was impossible for him to secure any intelligible response. The minister therefore offered prayer and departed. Within a few hours the man was dead: he was buried by the Anglican clergyman. As a matter of fact, the publican had no shadow of Church connection at all. When he was dying he became anxious about his soul and asked his wife to send for the Roman Catholic priest. The priest came and actually received him into the Roman Communion. Then he called for the Anglican clergyman, who recited the Prayers for the Sick and administered Communion according to the Anglican rite. Finally he sent for Kirby, remarking as he did so, "I don't know which of the three parsons is right, but I will have all three of them, and then I'll be perfectly safe." This man, at any rate, evidently regarded religion merely in the light of a "fire-insurance"!

From the standpoint of a personal biography the most important event of Kirby's Dalby period was his marriage. Shortly after his settlement in the township a newcomer arrived in the person of Margaretta Hall, the orphan daughter of Henry Waite Hall, an English barrister. In her own home she had been educated in the traditions of the Church of England, but she had Methodist associations too, for her maternal grandfather, the Rev. Charles Toase, had been for thirty years the minister of the Methodist Church in Paris. In his home some of her early years had been spent, with the result that she was very much at home in the French language, while in London she had had further opportunities of mingling

in cultivated society. Her brother was a Colonel in the British Army, who had been through the Indian Mutiny and participated in the memorable Siege of Lucknow. Another brother was settled at Dalby, where he was the operator at the local telegraph office. She had come to Dalby to keep house for this brother. What was more natural than that the young minister should go with his mother to pay a pastoral call on this interesting arrival? What other sequel could be expected than that which actually ensued? With Margaretta Hall romance had come to Dalby—at least for its minister. “From the moment I beheld her pleasant countenance and graceful manners, and listened to her piquant conversation, I became entranced, and so remained all the days of my life.” He was not long in offering his heart and hand: men made haste in their wooing in the old colonial days. On December 12, 1865, they were married in Dalby by the Anglican clergyman, the Rev. Edmund George Moberly. To the happy couple were born seven children—two sons and five daughters. Their union extended for nearly forty-four years. She made his hearth a home, and his home a heaven: in all his activities she proved a true and able helpmeet, taking an active and tactful part in the work of the three churches to which he was successively called to minister. As her presence was the greatest joy of his mature years, so her passing, on April 21, 1909, was the greatest grief of his old age. Whatever other mistakes Kirby made, he certainly made no mistake in the choice of a wife.

The chief public event of Kirby's Dalby ministry was a great struggle against the attempt to flood Queensland with “Kanaka” labour. “Kanaka” is a word from

the language of the Sandwich Islands : it means simply "man." The word was applied in Australia to the natives of the South Sea Islands. White labour in Queensland was scarce and dear : its climate was sub-tropical : much of the country was adapted for cotton and sugar cultivation. The introduction of Kanaka labour was an obvious expedient : it seemed a particularly attractive expedient from the standpoint of squatters and other capitalists. Kanakas began to come in 1863 : by 1868 over two thousand Kanakas were indentured in Queensland. Kirby's personal experience is on record : "One evening I was taking a walk on the road to Toowoomba. I lifted up my eyes and could scarcely believe them, for I beheld a squad of black men marching towards me, followed by two white men with pistols in their belts. It seemed like a scene from *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. As the black men approached, two or three of them began to smile and to stretch out their hands with a cry of 'Missionary, missionary'—it was all the English they knew. The white men in charge were evidently not pleased at the meeting, but explained to me that these blacks were Kanakas imported to work for a term of years for various squatters and now on the way to their destined masters. When we arrived at Dalby the Kanakas were herded into a stable yard : I counted thirty in all. The Kanakas made signs that they wanted writing materials : I found out afterwards that they had in many cases been taught to read and write by the missionaries of our own London Missionary Society. I got them what they wanted : immediately they set to work and wrote long letters. While they were thus occupied I went round Dalby and gathered

together the women of my congregation : I asked them to arrange a tea-meeting on the spot and to entertain the strange visitors. Without asking leave, we marched them all into the church : we could see they were delighted to come. The women gave them a good meal, with plenty of bananas and fruit. By this time quite a number of people had gathered, including many of my own deacons and church members. The Kanakas made us understand that they wanted to hold a service. Certain of their leaders, who were trained native teachers of the London Missionary Society, gave out hymns, offered prayer and preached—all in the Kanaka language. It was indeed a remarkable service. Some of the Kanakas were heathen, but they did as they saw their Christian brethren doing. Then we brought them all back to the stable yard and the native teachers gave me the letters they had written. I sent the letters and an account of the whole matter to the Rev. J. P. Sunderland, who was at that time the representative of the London Missionary Society in Australia, and a master of more than a score of the island dialects. He could read and understand the letters : he discovered that these unfortunate people had been practically kidnapped. He therefore sent certified copies of the letters to the London Missionary Society in London. The whole scandal was exposed, with the result that the guilty parties were tried and punished before the Supreme Court in Sydney. Better and stricter regulations were imposed on the traffic in the South Seas, and British men-of-war were sent to the islands to secure that these regulations should be observed.”

The Act to regulate the importation of Kanakas was

passed in 1868 : it sought to secure that the recruiting of Kanakas should be done under conditions which made the contract of indenture a really voluntary affair from the standpoint of the native : magistrates were empowered to inspect the places where Kanakas were employed and to see that they were properly treated. But these provisions were in large measure a dead letter : the traffic continued to excite grave scandal. Many whites lost their employment through the incoming of the blacks : Dalby was soon full of unemployed. Storekeepers complained that their businesses were suffering from the prevalence of low wages and unemployment. A deputation waited on Kirby and asked him to organize a public meeting. There was a crowded gathering, at which Kirby took the chair. Thomas Slaughter, a deacon of the Church, moved a resolution against the Kanaka system, which was enthusiastically carried. A collection was taken to defray the expense of a visit by Slaughter to Toowoomba and the holding of a further meeting there. From Toowoomba Slaughter made his way to Brisbane, where was held the biggest meeting of all. Accounts of this agitation were telegraphed all over Australia : the Queensland Government was constrained to make more stringent regulations and to provide that no Kanakas should be allowed to reside far from the coast : it was in the interior of the country that inspection was most difficult and abuses most numerous. The controversy continued till after Federation : Kanakas were not finally excluded till 1906. It is possible that Kanaka or other cheap labour was essential, if the Queensland sugar and cotton plantations were to flourish : sugar and cotton grown and gathered by white labour

under Australian rates of wages cannot possibly compete with the products of other countries in the markets of the world. But the abuses of coloured labour are so serious and so inevitable that no effective regulation seems practicable: Kirby at any rate regarded the Kanaka question as simply a phase of the "White Australia" issue. We have already seen how the importation of Chinese into Sydney had led him to take a strong stand in this connection.

The difficulties of the work at Dalby towards the end of Kirby's pastorate can be more or less gauged if we make a few extracts from a report presented by him to the Colonial Missionary Society early in 1869. The report is exceedingly frank. Dalby is stated to have a population of fourteen hundred, but of these six hundred are "bigoted Romanists, being immigrants from Central and Western Ireland." In addition to Roman Catholic, Anglican and Congregational churches, the Presbyterians have now stationed a resident minister in Dalby and are holding services in the Court House. "A large number of the inhabitants are either ex-convicts or children of convicts. For five hundred miles west of Dalby the country is more or less settled, but in all this area there is no priest, minister or colporteur: only in Roma is any service read on Sunday or Sunday School held. Public-houses and sly grog-shops abound. Most of the settlers are the dissolute young members of good British families, who have been sent out that they may no longer disgrace their friends and in the expectation that they will speedily drink themselves to death. This latter they do at an awful pace. Adventurers are here from every country under the sun. Women are scarce:

the men are of the lustful, masterful sort. Dalby, being the terminus of the Southern Railway of Queensland, is the point where these people tend to assemble. This is indeed a high place of Satan. Dalby is rightly called 'the city of the plains.' Nowhere in the empire is there blasphemy, drunkenness and lasciviousness to beat what prevails here. Yet the people show great mutual helpfulness: I often see the ruins of as glorious human natures as ever came upon the earth. I long to stay and make this wilderness to blossom with at least a few roses." Kirby follows up this description with details about the work. In the morning the congregation is fair: in the evening the church is generally full. The attendance at Sunday School averages sixty-five. A prayer meeting is well sustained. Two country stations, Jondaryan and Bowenville, are visited monthly and services held. "Our faith here is a fighting faith," characteristically says Kirby: "we get such hard blows that we are obliged to hit hard back." Many Bibles are reported as sold: Kirby asks for German Bibles and French Testaments. The zeal and success of Kirby and his fellow colporteurs "rile the priests terribly," but he continues undaunted and calls for further supplies of books and tracts. The whole report reveals a spirit of heroic labour under conditions hardly less difficult than might have confronted a missionary in Central Africa.

In the report we have just quoted there is reference to dissolute folks living on "remittances" from England. Two of these are particularly mentioned in Kirby's memoranda. One is said to have been the illegitimate son of Sir John Franklin (1786-1847), who was at one

time a Governor of Tasmania, but became world-famous through his great work in Polar exploration in connection with the endeavour to discover "the North-West passage." The young fellow was of bright intelligence and had been educated for the Bar. He was connected for a season with the Pitt Street Church in Sydney. Drink was his downfall—"that terrible destroyer of the fairest and noblest of mankind." He was sent to Dalby, where he dwelt at a public-house. Kirby saw him on several occasions and strove to win him to better ways, but in this case Kirby laboured in vain. On his death-bed the young fellow was received into the Roman Church. Another case was that of a Frenchwoman—a grand-daughter of the famous Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)—who had married a son of the Rev. Thomas Raffles, D.D., for more than fifty years the eminent pastor of Great George Street Congregational Church, Liverpool. Unhappily the woman became an intermittent inebriate, and was sent to Australia. Kirby became the agent for her monthly remittance: he paid all her bills and handed her the balance. When sober, which she might be for months together, she was an engaging and witty person, but in her periodical drinking bouts she sank low indeed. In this case also Kirby's efforts at reform proved futile.

Yet another resident in Dalby was a young lawyer who had lost position and character through the same accursed drink. He had a beautiful and affectionate young wife who went through hell for his sake. At last he fell ill with "delirium tremens": he had suffered before, but this proved to be the final attack. The young wife sent for Kirby, but Kirby found the fellow

altogether unwilling to receive him. He was only induced to do so by the promise of a bottle of brandy. Kirby kept his promise, but saw to it that the nurse took away the bottle as soon as his back was turned. Thus another bright life was ended in storm and shame.

Kirby's battles with the drink curse were really innumerable: his loathing of drink was based on a very wide knowledge of its actual effects. In Dalby were three master blacksmiths—all heavy drinkers. Kirby visited all three and actually induced them to sign the pledge. One at least of the three remained faithful. He eventually became a man of substance and a great upholder of the Church: Kirby visited him in his own splendid home some thirty-five years later and received a warm welcome from the man he had rescued from drink, disease and death. The second man kept the pledge for a few years and then broke it: he died of drink. What became of the third is not definitely known.

Conversions crowned Kirby's Dalby ministry to the end. The last instance was that of an old schoolmaster and his wife, who had been originally Baptists, but had taken to something much stronger and deadlier than *water*. They had sunk very low indeed, but they came under the power of the Gospel as Kirby preached it, gave up the drink, and returned to the Shepherd and Bishop of souls. They became once more respectable members of society and lived all their remaining days in fruitful fellowship with the Church of their new conversion.

These narratives have been selected from a much larger body of reminiscences, but they serve to indicate

the holy zeal and blessed results of Kirby's early ministry. Like the Master, he loved to deal with individuals even more than with crowds. To rich and poor, to respectable and to outcast, he bore the same earnest witness, strengthened by the effluence of his own consecrated personality. Believing with all his soul that "there is no other name given under heaven whereby men may be saved," he proclaimed Christ to all and sundry. Lonely shepherds on remote stations received from his lips the Word of Life: many of them were induced to buy from the stock of illustrated Bibles and Testaments which Kirby always carried with him on his country journeys. It was indeed a fragrant and fruitful ministry that Kirby exercised at Dalby, a ministry charged with the power of the Holy Ghost and mighty to the subverting of strongholds.

It was obviously impossible, as it was undesirable, that such gifts as Kirby's should be exercised for ever in a limited sphere like that at Dalby. Edward Griffith, of Brisbane, had ever maintained a fatherly interest in Kirby: like many a young man in his first pastorate, Kirby had reason to be grateful for an old and experienced colleague to whom he could always turn for warning and advice. Towards the end of 1870 the even tenor of life at Dalby was broken by a telegram from Griffith, asking if Kirby would care to go and preach for a month at Ocean Street Congregational Church, Woollahra, Sydney. After consulting his wife, Kirby telegraphed his acceptance. He duly fulfilled his engagement, with the result that on April 26, 1871, he received a hearty and unanimous invitation to the Sydney pastorate. Sorry as he was in many ways to leave Dalby, he could

only give one answer to the "call." The Dalby friends behaved magnanimously, and presented their departing pastor with a handsome gold watch and his wife with a silver tea service. Dalby always claimed a warm place in his heart. The cause there was, under God, his own creation. He had sown much good seed and reaped something of the harvest : he had seen the Church well on the road to prosperity. In Queensland he had helped in making a wonderful and promising young colony. Above all, he had found there the virtuous woman whose price is "above rubies."

*Chapter IV*TEN YEARS IN NEW SOUTH WALES
(1871-1880)

OCEAN Street, Woollahra, was situated in what was then a thriving residential suburb : the church was in a state of vigour and prosperity. There was a large and united fellowship, a strong body of deacons, a flourishing Sunday School with a fine staff of teachers, a vigorous Band of Hope, and a well-sustained Wednesday evening prayer meeting. The people were in a condition of expectancy : they responded with eagerness to Kirby's virile leadership. At the worship on Sundays they created an atmosphere of spiritual warmth in which the preacher was able to be and do his best : Kirby comments on "the remarkable and delightful sense of the presence of God " which often pervaded the place. A most efficient choir led the service of praise. The church, already well attended, soon became uncomfortably crowded : the building was enlarged at a cost of £1300, which sum was raised by the people and the debt entirely cleared before Kirby's ministry at Ocean Street came to an end. It was a fruitful and happy time, to which Kirby ever afterwards looked back with thankfulness : he felt himself "baptized with power " and was privileged to witness many real conversions. Many of the congregation shared in their minister's zeal for the winning of souls and felt a personal responsibility for the success of the work. Though Kirby was necessarily the dominating personality in the church, it could by no means be fairly described as "a one-man show,"

The outstanding personality among the deacons was undoubtedly Benjamin Short, a man of keen business acumen, marked originality and apostolic fervour. He was one of the pioneer agents of the Australian Mutual Provident Society, now one of the largest insurance concerns in the world : it was his energy which contributed as much as anything else to the early progress of that institution. He began his association with the Australian Mutual Provident Society while still carrying on a business of his own : he was so successful as a canvasser that he soon devoted all his business time to work of that kind. Kirby describes Short as a man possessed with two passions : one was to induce people to insure their temporal lives in the Australian Mutual Provident Society, and the other was to persuade them to insure their eternal welfare through surrender to Jesus Christ. The Australian Mutual Provident Society could hardly complain of his religious activities, for as a canvasser he was without a rival : he was indeed responsible for opening up the work of the Australian Mutual Provident Society in South Australia and New Zealand. Kirby was a strong believer in the desirability, and even in the duty, of making due provision for the contingency of death : he advocated life insurance, as Charles Haddon Spurgeon did. From his point of view the work of an insurance agent was more than a means of livelihood : it was, in a very real sense, a form of Christian service. He accordingly rejoiced greatly in the business success of his friend Short.

Short has another title to commemoration : he was practically the founder of the Sydney City Mission. He and his wife had been honorary workers in con-

nection with the City Mission in London: it seemed to him that there was room and need for a similar work in Sydney. In 1862 he convened a meeting in the Temperance Hall, at which the Hon. John Campbell, M.L.C., presided, and thirty-one persons were present. Out of this small beginning grew the vast and varied activities of the Sydney City Mission. The Diamond Jubilee of the Mission was held in 1922. In that year the income was £15,323: twelve mission halls were open: 21,375 children attended the Sunday Schools of the Mission: 177,958 persons were counted as attending the outdoor services. The Mission was stated by Kirby to have more children within its influence than the entire Congregational denomination in New South Wales. The success of the Mission was largely due to the Rev. Edward Moore, a Congregational minister, who became its first organizing secretary. Of him we must speak later. Suffice it to say that the Sydney City Mission is heavily in debt to the Congregational denomination: it owes its existence largely to the zeal of one Congregationalist, and its prosperity largely to the gifts and genius of another.

Having a deep sense of stewardship, Short was a great giver to all good causes: every Sunday two golden sovereigns found their way to the collection plate at Ocean Street, and no one doubted that they came from Short. He also practised the Christian grace of hospitality: indeed, he kept open house. The members of the congregation were invited to tea in groups: in order to avoid any suggestion of class distinction, Short's invitations followed an alphabetical order. The minister was always there and concluded the evening

with family prayer. Short was a great believer in prayer: several times a day he and his wife prayed together. Kirby stayed with Short for a month: the host would gather the family and the servants in the drawing-room: hymns would be sung: all who could do so offered prayer, and many who did not think they could pray were encouraged by the master to make their first essay in audible supplication. Short was always on the look-out for opportunities of testimony and exhortation: in the street, in the bus, in the train, on the steamship, in the office, he was ever ready to speak to people of every class and degree concerning the issues of salvation: he would as readily talk religion to the Governor as to a beggar. His business brought him into contact with many people, and his evangelistic zeal was often fruitful in good results: in Kirby's phrase, "he had a great sheaf to lay at the Master's feet."

After a time Short left Sydney and resided for some years in New Zealand. He first settled at Nelson, where he found a church building closed and useless. He promptly bought the property and summoned the Rev. John Beckenham from Hunter's Hill, New South Wales, to assist him in establishing a Congregational fellowship. The venture was eminently successful: indeed, the church was soon in a position to repay Short for his initial outlay. Removing to Dunedin, he repeated the process, again calling on the help of the worthy Beckenham: thus started Great King Street Congregational Church, Dunedin. He then returned to Sydney and resumed his activities there. His wife—a true helpmeet—died, and for some years his daughter,

Maria, kept house for her widowed father. Some time after Kirby's settlement in Port Adelaide he was astonished to receive a visit from Short. The visitor informed his late pastor that he was on the point of marrying a South Australian lady, and that he wanted Kirby to function as "best man" at the ceremony, which was to be performed by a Methodist minister who was a special friend of the bride. Kirby inquired what Maria and the family thought of the impending event, and was frankly informed that none of them knew anything about it. Kirby then inquired about the bride-to-be, and learned that she was over forty, well educated, and a Christian. Short was quite certain that it was the Lord's will that he should marry her: he had proved the Scripture which declares it not to be good for a man to dwell alone. Kirby, scrupulous and direct as he always was, now thought it his duty to ask what provision Short had made for Maria and his other children. "Well," said his visitor, "I have given them all a first-rate education, and am prepared to assign to them two-thirds of my fortune. Surely I may keep a third for myself and for my second wife? A lawyer has drawn up a will to this effect, and I am going to sign it after the ceremony, for of course the marriage will render my former will null and void." Kirby could raise no further objection and agreed to do what his friend asked. The ceremony took place at a home in Woodville, not far from Port Adelaide. Short sent a characteristic telegram to his family—"There was a marriage in Cana of Galilee"—and the parties lived happily ever after, though, as Kirby drily remarks, the children of a first wife seldom see perfection in the

father's second wife. Short was certainly a remarkable deacon.

Another of the Ocean Street deacons emulated Short in his zeal for souls : we refer to John Beckenham. His story is interesting, inasmuch as he was able ultimately to enter the stated ministry and to do splendid service therein. Kirby tells how he came to do it. Some of Kirby's friends settled in 1873 at Hunter's Hill, a pretty suburb of Sydney, situated on an elevated peninsula constituted by the two main arms of the upper harbour. These friends suggested that there was room for a Congregational church in this promising district. Kirby went to spy out the land. He held a very successful service in the local institute : it was clear that services must be continued. But how were they to be "supplied" ? Kirby solved the problem by asking Beckenham to preach for a few Sundays. Beckenham had a profound knowledge of the Bible and a wonderful gift for retelling the old Bible stories in an arresting and pathetic way : the people listened as though they had never heard the stories before. The members of the congregation at Hunter's Hill were not long in asking Beckenham to give up his small business and to become their minister. He knew no Latin and no Greek : his qualifications from some points of view were sadly defective. But he became an Extra-Mural student of Camden College and fought his way to ordination by the sheer merit of his spiritual work. He migrated to New Zealand, where he helped to establish strong churches at Nelson and Dunedin : he finally returned to New South Wales and served valiantly at Orange, Waterloo and Mascot. Kirby said proudly

that Beckenham could *do* something, which some more learned pastors could not.

Short and Beckenham were not the only pillars of Ocean Street. There was Walter Smith, a prosperous tailor, who, like Short, was accustomed to place two sovereigns in the plate every Sunday. Smith was a Scotsman and naturally the most theologically-minded of the deacons: he had been nurtured on the Shorter Catechism. Removing to Drutt Town, he established a church there and founded a thriving Sunday School. Another valued helper was Walter Wailes, who was church treasurer and Sunday School superintendent—a man of unaffected godliness and a great lover of children. All the deacons, indeed, were men of character: Kirby always looked back with satisfaction to his association with so goodly a band of colleagues. If every diaconate in Australia rivalled Kirby's diaconate at Ocean Street, Australian Congregationalism would verily become a power in the land.

Kirby was building at Ocean Street on foundations which had been well and truly laid by his predecessor, the Rev. Thomas Gainford. Gainford was a ready and dramatic preacher, with a peculiar power of pathos. Many hard hearts were melted by his appeals: Gainford might have echoed the pardonable exultation of Richard Baxter: "I am not aware that I ever preached when at least one soul did not give himself to Christ, and often I had many." Gainford had been originally an officer in the mercantile marine. He was brought up as a Methodist and attained the status of an accredited local preacher. He laboured for the spiritual welfare of his shipmates, nor did he labour in vain.

It happened that his ship made a lengthened call at Newcastle (New South Wales). From the ship he saw a church on a hill: he made inquiries and discovered that it belonged to the Congregational body, but all services had been discontinued and the building closed: the previous minister had abandoned the place in despair. Gainford sought out the former secretary of the church and offered to preach. The secretary was satisfied with Gainford's references, but expressed himself as utterly sceptical about the possibility of gathering a congregation: he emphatically declined all financial responsibility for any venture that might be made. But Gainford obtained the use of the building for six Sundays, on the distinct understanding that he must bear any monetary liabilities. He promptly issued handbills, advertised in the local Press, and caused his Christian shipmates to visit the sailors on other ships that lay in harbour. A crowded congregation rewarded his enterprise. When the six Sundays were over the local Congregationalists were so far encouraged that they invited Gainford to become their minister. He abandoned his seafaring work and became a whole-time "fisher of men." His efforts at Newcastle resulted in the permanent resuscitation of the cause there. From Newcastle he was invited to Woollahra, where his labours were equally or more successful. Now he had become the pastor of the Mariners' Church at Sydney, where he found another appropriate sphere. Kirby might well count himself privileged in reaping where such a man had sown.

Kirby had one advantage at Woollahra that had been lacking at Dalby: he was within easy reach of many

able and devoted ministerial brethren. An outstanding leader of Congregationalism was the Rev. J. G. Fraser, M.A., D.D., Chairman of the New South Wales Union in 1870-1871, and Warden of Camden College from 1872 to 1909. Fraser and Kirby became close friends. Kirby delighted in the ripe philosophy of Fraser, while Fraser envied Kirby his gift of direct evangelistic appeal. Fraser was on one occasion visiting an aged woman who seemed rather troubled about her spiritual condition, well knowing that her days on earth were numbered. Feeling somewhat at a loss in dealing with this ignorant soul, he called in the aid of Kirby. Kirby was not long in clearing things up: his simple and fervid dogmatism was most effective in dealing with cases like this. Fraser was known to have adapted a saying famous in another connection, and to have declared that if he could be as certain of anything as Kirby was of everything he would be an exceedingly happy man. Kirby was indeed as remote as possible from that temper of "philosophic doubt" which is popularly associated with Earl Balfour. Yet his dogmatism was probably one of the sources of his success: he knew exactly where he stood on every issue, and the people who heard him knew that he knew. His ministry was not a ministry to students, but to plain men and women of the world: it met the craving for certitude which is so marked a characteristic of the unsophisticated human heart.

Another interesting association of those days was that with the Rev. Barzillai Quaife. Quaife was a lucid and incisive speaker, and a man of considerable culture. It had been at one time intended that he should be the first Warden of Camden College. But a difference of

opinion arose: the appointment was finally bestowed on Kirby's old tutor, S. Chambers Kent. Quaife had been the founder of the Congregational Church at Parramatta, but he had now ceased his activities in connection with the denomination and associated himself with the Presbyterians. He was, however, still a Congregationalist in spirit. Becoming a leader-writer on the *Empire* newspaper, he settled at Woollahra, where he gathered a congregation in a large room and preached "the sound and exact doctrine of the Shorter Catechism." Quaife was attracted to Kirby: presumably he recognized a kindred spirit. About this time increasing infirmities made it more and more difficult for Quaife to maintain his little conventicle, so he advised his people to merge themselves in the Ocean Street Church. To Ocean Street he sent also his own wife and children. Needless to say, the Ocean Street people offered a hearty welcome to these unexpected reinforcements. Kirby regularly visited Quaife during a long and trying illness: as Quaife weakened in body, it seemed as though his intellect became quickened, while his spiritual experience and testimony gained amazingly in power. Ministers came from all over Sydney to sit at the feet of the dying saint and to feed their souls on his abounding faith. Kirby declares that the Christian experience of Barzillai Quaife transcended anything he ever came across. He was the officiating minister at Quaife's funeral, which was attended by a remarkable concourse of ministers of all denominations.

Among Kirby's numerous lay friends none was dearer than John Fairfax, the deacon who had been appointed to interview him years before, in connection with his

application to join the fellowship at Pitt Street. Fairfax was born at Warwick, in the heart of England, in 1804 : at twelve years of age he was apprenticed to a printer. In 1825 he settled at Leamington and published a small newspaper. One Sunday morning Fairfax, along with a young friend named Richard Reading, in the course of a country stroll happened to be passing a little Congregational meeting-house. A good deacon was standing outside and invited the young men to come in. The preacher was a simple village evangelist, but the message went home with power : the lives of those young men became changed. Both joined the Congregational Church at Leamington. Fairfax was unfortunate with his newspaper : he became involved in a libel action in which, though successful, he lost all his money. In 1838 he migrated to Sydney and found a post as a librarian. He became a compositor in the office of the *Sydney Herald*. His diligence and ability were soon recognized : in 1841 he became part-proprietor of the paper, which modified its name in the following year and was called henceforth the *Sydney Morning Herald*. In 1853 Fairfax acquired the sole proprietorship : the *Sydney Morning Herald* soon became the most influential organ of public opinion in the colony. Fairfax was also active in establishing the Australian Mutual Provident Society on a firm basis.

Fairfax had thus acquired wealth and position, but these things were not permitted to suffocate his intense religious life. He had a fixed time for daily private prayer : when that hour arrived he allowed nothing to prevent him from enjoying his allotted period of communion with God. He would say, "I have a prior and

pressing engagement and must go away awhile." He was never absent from the weekly prayer meeting at Pitt Street. As a steward of large means, he gave with judicious liberality to all manner of religious and philanthropic objects. Shortly before his end he became a member of the New South Wales Legislative Council : his death in 1877 was lamented by the whole public of the colony, and by none more sincerely than by his friend Kirby. It is interesting to note that Richard Reading, the comrade of his Warwickshire days, also migrated to Sydney and became a colleague with Fairfax on the diaconate at Pitt Street. The village evangelist little guessed what a contribution he was making to the religious and civic life of Australia when he preached the sermon in that little meeting-house. The second name of Fairfax's second son, Sir James Reading Fairfax, attests the closeness of the friendship that bound Fairfax to Reading. It is only right to add that Sir James Reading Fairfax (1834-1919) proved altogether worthy of the honoured names he bore.

Another Pitt Street friendship dear to Kirby was that with David Jones. He was a deacon of outstanding piety and worth, much beloved by the young people of the church and a man whose welcome to strangers helped greatly in making new immigrants feel at home within the walls of a strange sanctuary. He founded a large drapery business in George Street, Sydney. Like Fairfax, he made much money and employed it well : many churches and charities had occasion to thank God for David Jones. Jones was a pioneer of early closing on Saturday afternoons : every other draper was accustomed to keep open till 11 p.m. on Saturdays, but Jones always

insisted on closing at 4. To this man of God Australian shop assistants should feel grateful as to one who paved the way for their enjoyment of what is now a common boon. We have already alluded to Jones in this biography as the kind friend who presented Kirby with his first pulpit gown.

David Jones's eldest son emulated his father in piety and good works. He was educated at Sydney University and afterwards at London and Paris. He eventually became Sir Philip Sidney Jones and one of the leading physicians in New South Wales. While on a visit to New York he "sat under" Henry Ward Beecher for three months and became thoroughly emancipated from the old type of Calvinism. Sir Philip Sidney Jones was a great sermon-taster: he heard all the leading preachers in England, France and Germany, as well as in America. Beecher, however, was his hero: he used to say that Beecher had the most opulent mind of any preacher he had ever heard. At the same time he humorously remarked that he was sorry that he had "sat under" Beecher, because Beecher's surpassing genius so utterly threw into the shade the pulpit efforts of lesser men: the best preaching in Sydney seemed tame after an experience of Brooklyn. Sir Philip Sidney Jones helped to broaden the theology of the New South Wales Congregationalists: the ancient waters had undoubtedly run deep, but they were none the worse for a little widening.

One of Kirby's Sydney acquaintances who later made some stir in the world was Herbert Henniker Heaton. He was then a reporter on the *Sydney Evening News*, and married a Miss Bennett, the daughter of the pro-

prietor of that journal. Heaton subsequently went to England and became known as the outstanding champion of international penny postage. He became member of Parliament for Canterbury and was knighted shortly before his death. Kirby describes Heaton as a man full of ideas and gifted with an indomitable pertinacity, a description which his later career fully justified.

It was not long before Kirby became involved in the whirlpool of public affairs. In Australia, as in England, much controversy arose through denominational antagonisms in the field of public education. Roman Catholics and Anglicans favoured denominational education under denominational control: they established a great number of schools on this basis. The Wesleyans and the Presbyterians also had a few schools. But the Baptists and the Congregationalists, true to their English traditions, maintained that national education should be an entirely State affair, and were inflexibly opposed to the State subsidization of schools under sectarian control and conducted as agencies of sectarian propaganda. In 1844 the famous Robert Lowe (afterwards prominent in the British House of Commons and raised to the peerage as Lord Sherbrooke) moved in the New South Wales Legislative Council for the appointment of a Select Committee on the whole subject of education in the colony. Its Report favoured a truly national system, and further recommended that adherence to this system should be an indispensable condition of State aid. The denominationalists succeeded in defeating these recommendations. In 1848 "an awkward system of dual control" was established. A Board of National Education was set up side by side

with a Board of Denominational Education : both types of school were to be subsidized from public funds. This naturally resulted in "a vexatious rivalry." A ferment of criticism continued which, shortly after Kirby's settlement, developed into a vigorous agitation.

In 1866 the Parkes Government sought to meet the criticisms so freely passed on the compromise of 1848. An Act was passed by which the dual system of control was abolished : all schools receiving public aid were placed under the supervision of a Council of Education, consisting of five members appointed by the Crown. Religious instruction in non-denominational schools was made entirely unsectarian. The clauses in the Act which excited most criticism were those which continued grants-in-aid to denominational schools which accepted public supervision and attained prescribed standards of educational efficiency. The Act failed in this respect to meet the views of those who were conscientiously opposed to State assistance for sectarian schools. On the other hand, the Most Rev. Roger William Bede Vaughan (1834-1883), the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Sydney, inveighed against unsectarian religious education with a ferocity which antagonized a large section of the neutral public. In Sir Henry Parkes's "Memoirs" the opinion is expressed that this intransigent attitude was largely responsible for the sequel. If the sectarians had been satisfied with what they were conceded in the Act of 1866, it could probably have been maintained : as it was, the demand for the complete abolition of public aid to sectarian schools grew stronger and stronger until it became irresistible. It was at this stage that Kirby entered the arena.

In 1874 the agitation for an entirely unsectarian system of education culminated in the formation of "The New South Wales Public School League for making Primary Education National, Secular, Compulsory and Free." The leading spirit in the inauguration of the League was the Rev. James Greenwood, M.A., then the minister of the Baptist Church in Bathurst Street, Sydney, afterwards a member of Parliament and a "Rationalist" lecturer. Greenwood was a man of marked ability and logical power. The League was formed at a meeting held in Pitt Street Congregational Schoolroom. The "planks" of the League explain themselves, except that the word "secular" was defined to mean "unsectarian": the League was not seeking to exclude all religious instruction from the schools, but merely to limit such instruction to the course then in use in the non-denominational public schools of the colony. The supreme aim of the League was to secure the establishment of a system which should root out illiteracy: at this time one in four of the inhabitants of New South Wales over ten years of age was unable to read or write: it was indeed a state of affairs only paralleled in lands like Spain and Russia. In 1873 there were five times as many criminals from the illiterate as from the literate section of the population, though the latter outnumbered the former by about three to one. The dual system of education led to gross overlapping and inefficiency: the numerous small denominational schools naturally cost more to "run" than truly communal schools would do, while the education provided was, almost invariably, far less efficient. The teachers in the denominational schools

were commonly underpaid and often poorly qualified for the work they had to do. Altogether the condition of education in New South Wales, including what little there was of secondary education, left much to be desired.

Kirby had been to the forefront at the inaugural meeting of the League in Pitt Street: he was elected a member of the executive committee and became an active propagandist. He had more than a turn for journalism: to the very end of his life he was a constant and copious contributor to the Press. Hundreds of his letters are embalmed in the files of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, which had lent its powerful influence to the support of the League. He was a keen controversialist, always keeping to the point and never descending to personalities: he knew his case from A to Z, and knew how to expound it with clearness and cogency. Even the country newspapers in New South Wales soon received letters and articles from his pen. With two other enthusiasts he "stumped" a large part of central and western New South Wales in order to rouse public opinion in favour of the League. Meetings were held in town after town: a General Election was impending, so the campaign was timely. While Gladstone was rousing the British public on the subject of the Bulgarian atrocities, Kirby was rousing the New South Wales public on another and very different issue. He was accustomed to march through every township, ringing a large bell, and proclaiming the object of the crusade. Goodly audiences assembled and a strong impression was made. It soon became evident that many people besides Congregationalists and Baptists were in favour

of the League. On the other hand, while the Roman Catholics were, as always, fierce defenders of sectarian education, a large number of Anglicans were by no means enthusiastic in defence of denominational teaching.

When the General Election of 1877 arrived the League made a dramatic move. It resolved to nominate a candidate for East Sydney, the premier constituency of the colony, in opposition to Henry Parkes. Sir Henry Parkes—he was afterwards knighted—was perhaps the most able and influential of nineteenth-century Australian statesmen. His origins were humble and his early education rudimentary: he never really mastered the elusive aspirate. Yet he won his way not only to fame, but to a large measure of genuine culture. In the days before Federation New South Wales was the one Free Trade colony: it was the influence of Parkes which was largely responsible for keeping it so. He was also famous for the part he took in promoting Federation: he has been called “The Father of the Australian Commonwealth.” Kirby knew Parkes well and maintained quite a correspondence with him. At this time he was unwilling to pledge himself to what he regarded as the excessively radical programme of the Public School League. He had no fear for the safety of his seat in East Sydney, for, with the exception of two brief intervals, he had represented that constituency from the inception of constitutional government in the colony.

Against this doughty politician Kirby was invited to stand. The invitation was at once declined. Like John Clifford in England, Kirby was not afraid of political controversy whenever the interests of the Kingdom of

God seemed to be at stake, but he was as sure as Clifford that it was a greater honour to be a minister of Jesus Christ than to be a member of Parliament, and a greater opportunity too. He had chosen rather to be a herald of the Gospel than a maker of the Law, and by that choice he ever abode.

Kirby's refusal was the more unhesitating because he knew that the cause of the League would not lack an able champion. It was resolved that Greenwood should bear the standard, and Greenwood accepted the challenge. In the exciting struggle that ensued Kirby supported the League candidate with voice and pen: all eyes in the colony were fixed on East Sydney. In those days nominations were public: hustings were erected on which the various candidates sat, accompanied by their respective movers and seconders. From this elevation the candidates and their friends sought to woo the suffrages of the assembled multitude.

At this time East Sydney was a four-member constituency: on this occasion five candidates were put forward. Greenwood made a powerful speech from the hustings, which heartened his supporters and won many votes. But Parkes could not be induced to take the opposition seriously: he utterly failed to gauge aright the power of the League. Coming upon Greenwood in the midst of a group of League supporters—among them Kirby—Parkes even ventured to offer his rival a piece of patronising advice: "Don't be at all discouraged if you don't win at this first election: politics, you know, takes time."

In a few hours Parkes was rudely disillusioned. Greenwood was triumphantly returned, while Parkes found

himself bottom of the poll and without a seat. At this point occurred an unexpected development. In those days a General Election was spread over a considerable period. When the poll was concluded in East Sydney there was still time to make a nomination in the suburban constituency of Canterbury. The League committee were well aware that Parkes was not opposed in principle to their programme: his reluctance to pledge himself thereto was due merely to his belief that public opinion was not yet ripe for such drastic proposals. The East Sydney result caused Parkes to change his mind on this latter point. Negotiations were hurriedly set on foot. The public of New South Wales had not recovered from their surprise at the League candidate ejecting Parkes from East Sydney when the stupefying intelligence was given out that the League had agreed to nominate Parkes for Canterbury, and that he had accepted the nomination. He was nominated accordingly, and was duly returned.

At the end of 1878 Parkes became Premier and formed the strongest and most stable Government that had been seen in the somewhat kaleidoscopic political history of New South Wales. His friends of the League now required him to implement his pledges. In 1880 he did so by an Act which put an end to all public grants in aid of sectarian schools. Denominational schools might still continue, but they must be financed by the denominations in whose interests they existed. In all schools under Government auspices unsectarian religious teaching was to be given by the teachers, while "the right of entry" was conceded to ministers of religion. The system has on the whole worked well:

there is no likelihood that it will be disturbed now. The League had triumphed. Kirby used to boast that it had secured for an area as large as France and Germany combined a system of education which few lands could rival. Money was freely spent. Excellent buildings were erected, while a fine staff of trained and enthusiastic teachers rallied to the work. Bible teaching could be given twice weekly by the teachers, subject, of course, to a "conscience clause," while ministers of religion were authorized to visit the schools once a week for the purpose of giving religious instruction to children of the various denominations. In practice, the non-episcopal ministers generally arrange a rota and the children of the non-episcopal denominations are practically reckoned as one. It is curious that the "right of entry" for clergy and ministers, to which most English Free Churchmen are inflexibly opposed, is regarded by most of their Australian brethren not only as unobjectionable in principle but as providing a valuable opportunity of doing good work. Kirby had no sympathy at all with a system of secular education which, as in South Australia to-day, excludes all religious instruction and even prohibits the reading of the Bible as literature. He often spoke with some scorn of those "doctrinaire" Baptists and Congregationalists who carried their opposition to any connection of Church and State to such a point that they joined hands with Rationalists and Romanists in deprecating unsectarian Bible teaching. He regarded this attitude as on a par with the uncompromising Independency which led some early Congregational pioneers to decline the offer by the public authorities of free sites for church

buildings—an attitude which he designated as little better than fatuous in the peculiar circumstances that then prevailed.

Kirby was no sooner out of one agitation than he involved himself in another. New South Wales had had since convict days an unenviable reputation for hard drinking. In a previous chapter we have noted how Kirby's mind was impressed by the fearful ravages of alcoholic indulgence in Sydney. Public-houses abounded to such an extent that it was estimated that there was a public-house for every 250 of the population. People who were by no means fanatics were alarmed at the situation. The laws for the regulation of the liquor traffic were unsatisfactory and badly enforced: they needed both consolidation and amendment. Kirby embarked on an intensive study of this complicated subject: indeed, he made himself a master of all the data concerning liquor legislation in Australia and in other lands. In October 1877 he read a paper on the subject before the Annual Assembly of the New South Wales Congregational Union. Kirby was not the man to indulge in vague generalities on such an issue: he laid before the Assembly a severe indictment of the existing lax conditions, and a comprehensive and detailed programme of reform. His suggestions were eagerly welcomed and received the strong endorsement of the Assembly. Josiah Mullens, one of Sydney's leading business men, offered to pay for the printing of 1500 copies of Kirby's address: copies were sent to all members of Parliament, to the editors of all the newspapers, and to prominent people throughout the colony. The *Sydney Morning Herald*, which had already dis-

tinguished itself by the severity of its comments on the moral conditions prevailing in the community, lent its powerful influence to the Temperance cause. A few days later Kirby received from Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier, an invitation to lunch with him at his home in Ashfield: he wanted to chat about Kirby's paper. Parkes was so impressed by Kirby's facts and arguments that he undertook to introduce legislation on the basis of his suggestions. The Act of 1880 was the result. The colony was divided into Licensing Districts and Licensing Courts were set up: the powers of the police were enlarged and special officers were appointed to supervise the carrying on of "the Trade." Above all, the principle of Local Option was introduced: no new licences were to be granted without an affirmative vote of eleven-twentieths of the people in the district affected. It is hardly necessary to state that the measure was fiercely opposed, but Parkes carried it through. He had become convinced that the liquor business is "a perilous trade": indeed, he went so far as to describe intemperance as "the devil in solution." Kirby's success in this matter brought him still more prominently before the public and incidentally prepared him for later activities in the same direction in South Australia.

During Kirby's Ocean Street pastorate the question of Chinese immigration again became acute in Sydney. It was raised on this occasion by the action of George Richard Dibbs (afterwards Sir George Dibbs) (1834-1904). He was a leading shipping owner in Sydney and also an active politician. Dibbs was Chairman of the Australian Steam Navigation Company, which had the monopoly of the local shipping traffic. It occurred to

his economical mind that a large saving could be effected by displacing white sailors and firemen in favour of Chinese. With this end in view he actually imported a number of Celestials and turned some of his former employees adrift. There was an immediate strike of the seafarers and a great outcry from all classes of the population. As a fervent advocate of the "White Australia" policy, Kirby was naturally on the popular side. He consulted the strikers and was informed that they would at once return to work if the Company would agree to send the Chinese home. He also consulted Josiah Mullens, who was not only a leading Congregationalist, but also a shareholder in the Steamship Company: he assured Kirby that Dibbs had acted entirely on his own account, without any consultation with the shareholders. Kirby then visited the office of the Company. Dibbs bowed before the storm he had created: "White Australia" was saved once more and "Labour" won a famous victory. Some efforts were made at a later date to secure Chinese workers for the mines and railways, but here also public opinion expressed itself so unitedly and so strongly that these efforts were foiled. Kirby was always proud of the share he had had in this great controversy.

It was during this period that Kirby became involved in a most peculiar affair: it concerned an escaped nun. English readers must understand that Orange sentiment is widespread in Australia: it is even more prominent among non-episcopalians than among Anglican "Low Churchmen." The Roman Catholic Church is almost entirely an Irish institution in Australia: many of its clergy and laity are openly and vehemently anti-English.

The Roman Catholics in Australia are for the most part closely identified with the Labour Party : in certain States the Labour Party is clearly dominated by the Romanist interest. The political influence of the Roman Catholic Church is undoubtedly very considerable : it is correspondingly dreaded and detested. This is all the more the case because it tends to associate itself with the liquor and the gambling interests : many of the wealthiest publicans and bookmakers are unquestionably generous supporters of the Roman Catholic communion. The following story must be read in the light of these facts.

Several references have already been made in this narrative to the Rev. Edward Griffith, at this time the minister of Wharf Street Congregational Church, Brisbane. It was a letter from Griffith to Kirby that drew him into the little drama of the escaped nun. Griffith informed Kirby that the lady in question was a widow with a little daughter. She had entered the conventual life, but her views had undergone a change and she had abandoned the nunnery. Her defection had excited strong feeling among her former co-religionists in Brisbane : in fact, it had become impossible for her to remain in that city. Griffith therefore requested Kirby to welcome this lady and her child and to make any necessary arrangements for their safety and well-being. Kirby at once got in touch with the Orange Lodge and found that Griffith had addressed to them a similar communication. Naturally he felt that it was a delicate matter, but it seemed impossible to refuse his friend's urgent request.

The ex-nun and her daughter arrived in Sydney a

few days later. Kirby found that she was the daughter of a Roman Catholic laird in Scotland : she proved to be highly educated and a fine musician. She explained that she had been born and bred in the Roman faith : she had been indeed deeply anxious to live a " religious " life. The death of her husband opened the way to the realization of her desires : she entered a convent in Brisbane and received a warm welcome from the nuns, who were very kind both to her and to her child. She was employed as a governess, visiting daily in the homes of Protestant families. Making tactful use of her opportunities, she succeeded in winning a number of converts to the faith : her proselytizing efforts were so fruitful as to attract the attention and applause of the clergy and even of the Bishop. In her own religious life she was extremely devout : she kept a diary in which she recorded the development of her inner experience. She was now requested by the convent authorities to take an appointment as governess with a wealthy family in the country. She was already a keen student of the Latin Vulgate : in her country retreat she continued to peruse it. One day her eyes lighted on the words, " There is one God and one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus " (1 Tim. ii. 5). She had read the words before without realizing their import. Now she began to perceive an inconsistency between the statement of Holy Scripture and the Roman Catholic practice of invoking the intercession of the Blessed Virgin and the saints : no longer need the angels be regarded as bridging the gulf between the Heavenly Father and His erring child. In her simplicity she confided her difficulties by letter to her spiritual

director in Brisbane. He at once commanded her to return to Brisbane. She obeyed. Her confessor informed her that her new ideas were prompted by the Evil One: she must return to the convent and go into retreat. She embarked on a strenuous course of fastings and vigils: meantime her clerical advisers plied her with arguments and entreaties. All this seems only to have strengthened her in her "heretical" conclusions: she was finally placed on trial for heresy before the Bishop. The trial took place in the evening: all the nuns were gathered together and a number of priests attended too. She resolved there and then to escape: she believed rightly or wrongly that her condemnation would be followed by other than spiritual penalties. She observed that the door behind her had been left open, and that the door in question opened on a series of passages which offered a possible exit from the now-hated convent. While the priest who was conducting the prosecution was expounding her errors, she made a sudden rush at him and knocked him down. The nuns shrieked and ran to the assistance of the prostrate cleric. For a few moments they forgot the central figure in the drama: of these moments she took instant advantage. Through doors and passages she ran, but had sufficient presence of mind to turn round and lock some of the doors behind her. She reached the outer gate, only to discover that it was locked: it was a high gate crowned with spikes. Despair lent to the fugitive an unnatural strength and resource. Somehow she climbed the gate and got into the road, though her garments were sadly torn in the effort. She started to run towards the centre of the city, looking meanwhile for a place of

refuge. She espied a public-house standing open : a woman was serving at the bar. The woman proved to be Scotch and readily responded to her appeal for protection. She secreted her in a room upstairs and lent her some clothes. From the window of her room the escaped nun could see the convent gate open : a number of people came out with lights and made a search around. Of course the search was in vain. The two women discussed the strange situation : the hostess decided that the wisest course was to communicate with Edward Griffith, her minister, who also happened to be the head of the Orange Lodge in Brisbane. Griffith and the Orangemen at once made arrangements for the protection of the fugitive : he also set the lawyers to work and compelled the convent authorities to surrender the custody of the child. The escaped nun became for a short time the organist of the Wharf Street Church. Rightly or wrongly, both she and her friends in Brisbane were gravely afraid that an attempt would be made to bring her back to the convent by force : it was for this reason that it had been decided to transfer her to Sydney.

Kirby did his best for his strange guest. He and his people set her up in a small business in Woollahra, not far from the Ocean Street church, which, of course, she regularly attended. She also obtained a few music pupils. The Roman Catholic authorities in Sydney soon became aware of the facts of the case : it is only fair to add that they gave instructions that she was not to be in any way molested. But the Orangemen were both suspicious and watchful : they kept guard over the lady continually. This situation was obviously very

awkward : Kirby was much perplexed about it. At this juncture an unexpected intervention occurred. One of the leading Orangemen was a retired officer of the British navy : he was smitten with the charms of the escaped nun, who might indeed appear to an Orangeman as a figure of romance. The lady was at first decidedly reluctant to entertain his suit, but he found a warm advocate in Kirby. Both Kirby and his wife were of opinion that this proposal of marriage offered an ideal way out of the difficult situation in which all parties were involved. It was in vain that the lady protested that she did not love the man who wooed her. Kirby had satisfied himself as to the antecedents and character of the ex-sailor : he successfully overcame the scruples of the ex-nun. He officiated at the wedding : the married pair and the little girl, after a brief residence in Sydney, migrated to New Zealand. Whether they lived happy ever after is unknown to the present biographer.

In transcribing this narrative care has been taken not to overstate the remarkable features involved therein. Kirby bases his notes, in so far as they concern things outside his own knowledge, on the statements of his friend Griffith, and on the statements of the ex-nun herself. It may be suggested that the lady was either imaginative or hysterical, or possibly both. Some portions of the narrative seem almost incredible as referring to conditions in a British colony in the seventh decade of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, there are plenty of ardent Protestants who will find no difficulty in crediting every detail of the ex-nun's story and in believing that her worst apprehensions were justified. Kirby's own part in the matter is certainly

not above criticism : it is to be hoped that the marriage he so eagerly promoted—admittedly at the outset a loveless marriage on the part of the bride—issued in satisfaction to the parties most immediately concerned. Whether the peculiar situation justified Kirby's action is for the reader to judge.

In 1877 Kirby made an important addition to his large circle of ministerial friends, for in that year the Rev. James Jefferis, B.A., LL.D., became minister of the Pitt Street church, so continuing for the next twelve years. Jefferis, educated at New College, London, and at London University, had ministered in South Australia since 1859. Here he had exercised a commanding influence. At the beginning of his first Adelaide ministry he was only twenty-six years of age, but his powers soon attracted a large congregation. To meet their needs a beautiful church was erected on Brougham Place : it stands as one of the finest examples of Italian architecture in the Commonwealth. The robust and progressive outlook of the young minister was especially attractive to young men like himself. Jefferis was to the fore in all efforts for the public welfare, but his main interest, outside his own church, was in the promotion of higher education. He was active in organizing Union College, an institution in which various denominations co-operated in providing theological training for ministerial candidates. This institution came to an end, but proved to be the forerunner of Parkin College : in recent years the co-operative scheme has been successfully revived. Jefferis was largely responsible for the foundation of the University of Adelaide : in 1872 Walter Watson Hughes offered £20,000 as an endow-

ment for Union College, but Jefferis magnanimously advocated the diversion of this munificent gift to the establishment of a University. He was offered a chair in the New University, which he declined, but he was extremely active as a member of the University Senate. He had been previously approached by the friends at Pitt Street, but resisted their entreaties till he felt his work in Adelaide was done. Now he exerted an influence in Sydney not inferior to that which he had won in South Australia. He was a strenuous advocate of national as opposed to denominational education, in which controversy he was naturally brought into close contact with Kirby.

Jefferis inevitably acquired a position of commanding influence in the New South Wales Congregational Union. The Union had been formed in 1866, while Kirby was in Queensland: it was able to mobilize the forces of Congregationalism for Church extension and other purposes in a way that had been impossible in the era of "isolated Independency." Important, and increasingly important, as is the place occupied by the Congregational Union of England and Wales and the various County Unions in the life of the Churches in the Homeland, the Union is relatively even more important in the Congregationalism of the overseas communities. Without an effective and aggressive central body there can be no systematic and successful Church extension, while in scattered and thinly populated areas the little local congregations urgently need the support and supervision which the Union alone can supply. If Congregationalism is weak in the Dominions, it is mainly due to the long survival of the tradition of "isolated

Independency": in so far as it has made any real progress, it is a progress which has depended, and still depends, apart from great personalities, on the strength of the various Unions and the ability and energy of the Union officials.

Kirby was keenly conscious of these facts. He had been brought up in the old-fashioned Independency, but his robust common sense and his keen powers of observation enabled him to realize that this type of polity was utterly unsuitable to the conditions in nineteenth century Australia. Unless the Unions were conceded adequate powers and allowed rights of initiative, Congregationalism in Australia would be nothing but a rope of sand. In practice, as we have already hinted, the work of the Union depends largely on its officials: the annual assemblies may provide the delegates of the churches with "a feast of reason and a flow of soul," but such assemblies have little executive capacity: they do well if they discover executive officials in whom they have confidence and then energetically support them in whatever they may propose. Jefferis saw that Kirby possessed the gifts and the experience which eminently fitted him for the official work of the New South Wales Union. Kirby was continually urging on his colleagues and on the Union the need for a more energetic and aggressive policy: he was ever lamenting the short-sightedness and incompetence which allowed golden opportunities to pass unimproved. It was therefore natural that he should be invited to try his hand at the work. In 1877 he was offered the post of General Agent of the New South Wales Union, with special responsibility for church extension.

Kirby had been exceedingly happy at Ocean Street and was naturally reluctant to leave, as was also his wife. The congregation filled the church to the doors, while the weekly offerings averaged £12 a week—a large sum for an Australian Congregational church in those days, or indeed in these days. There was every promise that the growth would continue. The people held a special Church Meeting and passed a strong resolution urging their pastor to remain. But there were very strong considerations on the other side. Woollahra had never really suited his health: he suffered throughout his residence there from intermittent bronchitis. Moreover, he was keenly conscious of the challenge involved in the Union's offer. He felt himself adapted by nature and experience for pioneering and organizing work such as he had been urging the Union to do. He therefore resolved to accept the invitation. At the same time he was able to save the Woollahra people from the trials of an interregnum. At his suggestion William Bradley, his former comrade in the Pitt Street "Young Men's Christian Society," who, like himself, had been a student at Camden College in its earliest period, was invited to the pastorate. Bradley had done good work at Waterloo, an industrial district in Sydney, and Kirby's confidence in his ability was not misplaced. In September 1877 the Ocean Street people held a crowded meeting at which they bade their departing minister an affectionate farewell, and extended to his successor a warm welcome.

The undertaking of the new work made it desirable that Kirby should change his place of residence. Neither he nor his wife thought it wise to continue in close proximity to the Ocean Street Church, now that

his official responsibility for its welfare was at an end and new leaders coming on the scene. The Kirbys therefore removed from Woollahra to Ashfield, which was regarded as a good-class residential locality. But Kirby himself saw little of his new home. His duties as Home Mission Agent involved him on frequent journeyings and prolonged absences: Mrs Kirby complained, with some justice, that she might as well have married a sailor.

Kirby had accepted office on the distinct understanding that the aggressive policy for which he stood should be at once put into operation. At this time there were less than forty organized Congregational churches in New South Wales, some of which have since become defunct. To-day there are more than double that number of churches, exclusive of cases where work has been started and abandoned. Four of the existing churches can trace their origin to Kirby's apostolic activities during his three years of service as Home Mission Agent, while he also established two other "causes" which proved not to be permanent. Anxious as he was to extend the Congregational witness in the country districts, most of his successes were in the metropolitan area, as was indeed inevitable.

At one country town, however, Kirby was the means of establishing a permanent work. Orange is the centre of a wealthy district, 192 miles west of Sydney. Having an abundant rainfall, it is an important wheat- and fruit-growing area: gold, silver and copper are also found. A considerable population existed there: Kirby thought rightly that this was a promising centre. He paid a long visit and held well-attended services in the local

institute. He then procured a fine site near the railway station, established a fellowship, and secured the services of the Rev. W. M. Grant as the pioneer minister. Grant abundantly justified Kirby's confidence. In later years the Union sold the site which Kirby had chosen and built a new church in what he thought was a much inferior locality: Kirby felt very bitterly what he regarded as a gross lack of wisdom on the part of the Union. He often said that, when Congregationalists were fortunate enough to secure a good site, they had a mania for selling it: the attractiveness of a good "offer" led them to lose many important strategic positions. While at Orange Kirby was involved in a lively controversy with the champions of the liquor traffic: the local paper was doubtless glad to print his extremely vivacious letters. The Orange publicans seem, however, to have been a good-humoured set, with a tincture of classical knowledge, for on his departure they presented him with a leathern medal bearing the legend "*Palmarum qui meruit ferat.*" Needless to add, he counted this among his peculiar treasures.

On his way to Orange Kirby had stayed with the Rev. R. Rogers at Bathurst, a town of over five thousand inhabitants, on the Macquarie River, 122 miles from Sydney. He ascertained that there was room for a new "cause" at Back Creek, a few miles from this centre. While at Orange he pushed on with the Back Creek scheme, securing a good site and erecting a building for worship. He was fortunate in securing as the missionary a young man named Edward Moore. After Moore's departure the infant church dwindled and died, the site being finally sold to the Methodists. This is an

illustration of what has happened in many other places : the Methodist denomination, with its close-knit circuit system, its centralized administration, and its extensive employment of honorary local preachers, has had an enormous advantage over the non-connexional denominations, especially in the "out-back" areas. Kirby often used to say that if the evangelization of Australia had been left to the "Independent" bodies it would have been a bad look-out for Australia.

Edward Moore, to whom we have just alluded in connection with his settlement at Back Creek, Bathurst, is certainly worthy of a paragraph to himself. He was a product of Kirby's Young Men's Class at Ocean Street, Woollahra, and married a Miss Burnet, who was also a great worker at Ocean Street. Kirby's keen eye saw possibilities in the young man and induced him to become a Congregational Home Missionary. In Australia it is common for such Home Missionaries to be trained for ordination by means of external examinations conducted by the Theological College or by the Union, their studies being carried on in conjunction with their pastoral work. But when Edward Moore applied to Camden College for admission on the "Extra-Mural" Course his application was rejected, on the somewhat curious ground that he had one leg shorter than the other ! Such at least is Kirby's statement : the experience of the present writer is that such refusals are generally due rather to deficiency at the other end ! Moore was a consecrated personality, a sweet and gracious preacher, and a born organizer, while his wife ardently and effectively co-operated with him in every good work. He was not long at Back Creek. His next

charge was at Roma, in Queensland—a “cause” which Kirby claims to have initiated in his Dalby days, and which, like Back Creek, is now extinct. In 1882 he started a church at Brighton Road, Brisbane, which still survives. Four years later he removed to Sydney and founded a church at Kogarah, which became the centre of an important work, and is thriving to-day. But Moore’s greatest work was done in connection with the Sydney City Mission. We have already noted how this work was established by Benjamin Short, the noble deacon at Ocean Street. Short was, of course, well acquainted with Moore as “an old boy” of the same church: he realized that Moore was just the man for the leadership of the Mission. The Mission was a quite small affair when Moore took charge of it: he was really responsible for transforming it into the vast institution that it is to-day. Kirby used to say that he had influenced more than a score of men to enter the ministry, some of whom had brilliant University and College records. Yet, in his considered judgment, Edward Moore, who was refused admission to College, surpassed all the others in pastoral gifts and practical efficiency. Kirby even maintained that in some cases natural endowments may be rather blunted than sharpened by an academic education, and he added that he thought this might easily have occurred in the case of Moore. So, after all, the Camden College authorities may console themselves with the thought that they were providentially guided in refusing the youth of the abbreviated leg!

From the point of view of the Congregational denomination there was more hope in establishing “causes” in

the rapidly growing suburbs of Sydney than in planting isolated missions in remote country districts. During 1879 Kirby was mainly occupied in developing work at three important centres in and near Sydney—at Camperdown, Pyrmont and Croydon.

Camperdown was a populous industrial suburb, now practically engulfed in the City itself. Here Kirby gathered a company of zealous and spiritually-minded people who had "a mind to work." Land was secured and a school church erected. Considerable congregations assembled and a promising Sunday School was commenced: a number of indubitable "conversions" gladdened the heart of the Superintendent. Kirby had the joy of seeing no less than seventy people at the last Communion Service at which he presided prior to his departure from New South Wales. The grateful folks at Camperdown presented him with the enlarged photograph of himself which ever afterwards adorned his study. Alas, the bright dawn was soon overclouded. Kirby attributed the final collapse of the work at Camperdown to lack of efficient pastoral oversight, for which he severely blamed his successors in office. Whatever the cause, it is a regrettable fact that in very few cases does a Congregational church really thrive in a purely industrial area like Camperdown. We see this in the Homeland: we see it also in the Australian capitals.

Very similar to the work at Camperdown was that at Pyrmont. Here Kirby induced a wealthy landowner to present the denomination with a large and valuable plot of land in what he thought was an ideal site. Here also a school church was erected, a congregation gathered, and a Sunday School started. After Kirby's time the

site was sold and an expensive church erected elsewhere. This was another sore subject with Kirby. Unlike the "cause" at Camperdown, that at Pyrmont still survives, though it too has to contend with the difficulties inherent in the nature of the district.

Undoubtedly the most important of the churches founded by Kirby at this period was that at Croydon, within a short distance of his own new home. Here Kirby secured a good site through his influence with Anthony Hordern, the founder of one of the largest and most famous of Sydney drapery houses. The Horderns were originally a Congregational family, hailing from Brackley, in Northamptonshire. Anthony was a man of strong character and considerable ability: all his personal tastes were in the direction of engineering, but his father had insisted on making him a draper. In this uncongenial calling he was extraordinarily successful. Out of his wealth he was able to provide most of the capital for the establishment of a railway from the beautiful seaport of Albany to Perth (Western Australia). A statue to his memory stands in Albany, erected by the grateful people of Western Australia. Kirby and Hordern were great friends. Hordern had a curious taste for playing and singing hymns in the morning before breakfast: Kirby used sometimes to join him at this exercise. The kind of duet that ensued must be left to the imagination!

At Croydon, as elsewhere, Kirby built a school church, founded a Sunday School, and gathered a congregation. The new cause was extremely fortunate in its first pastor, the Rev. Walter Mathison, B.A., of Camden College and Sydney University. He was a man of rare culture

and spirituality : competent judges have pronounced him one of the choicest preachers in Australia. During his long pastorate a fine church building was erected, which is now known as the Mathison church. He was succeeded by the Rev. Frank Pulsford, a nephew of the famous John Pulsford. If he did not share in any marked degree his uncle's profound mystical insight, he was a most energetic and original type of minister. He was radical in his theological and social outlook : he succeeded in drawing people into the fellowship who would probably have been untouched by any other appeal than his. He founded a Montessori school in connection with the church, and persuaded the church to dedicate a fifth of its revenue to this form of social service. Pulsford's unexpected death in 1923 removed from the Australian ministry a man that could ill be spared : Pulsford impressed even those who disagreed with his peculiar ideas by his utter consecration to the cause of God and the people. Kirby was as the poles asunder from Pulsford in his theology, but he was an enthusiast for the Montessori method and thought Pulsford's work in this direction was a matter for admiration, thanksgiving and universal imitation.

Within twelve months of his appointment as Home Mission Agent Kirby received a signal proof of the continued confidence of his brethren. On October 15, 1878, he was elected to succeed his friend Jefferis as chairman of the New South Wales Congregational Union. For titular honours as such Kirby had little esteem, but he fully appreciated all that the election stood for. He assumed office as chairman on October 21, 1879 : his removal to South Australia occurred before

his term was fully expired. His address to the Union was an exceedingly incisive and well-arranged discourse on "English Congregationalism : its Misfortunes, Mistakes, State and Prosperity"—though he by no means confined his observations to conditions in England. He began by maintaining that Congregationalism was the scriptural and primitive form of Church polity : he had no sympathy with those who regarded Church polity as a matter of little or no importance, for polity was an outcome of life and reacted on life. Were not Popery and Prelacy based on a fundamental misconception of the nature of the Christian religion, and had they not been fruitful alike in perversion and persecution ? English Congregationalism had had a great, but in some respects a disastrous, history. Through no fault of its founders and fathers, but inevitably under the conditions that then prevailed, it had been compelled to become political, to the considerable detriment of its purely spiritual witness. It had suffered eclipse through generations of persecution : it had almost exhausted its energies in the maintenance of its imperilled existence and in the struggle to secure a bare toleration. When the Toleration Act of 1689 was passed, the battle-worn Independents were unequal to making the most of their new-won rights. Even so, these rights were seriously limited, and the influence and prestige of Nonconformity gravely diminished, by continued disabilities in regard to rites of marriage and burial, and above all by the exclusion of Dissenters from the seats of higher education. Australian Congregationalists were free from these disabilities, but they inherited the effects of them. They had also suffered from their conscientious refusal

to accept any form of State aid, whether in the form of land grants or otherwise—a refusal by no means emulated by Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians and Methodists. If Congregationalists had suffered misfortunes, they had also made mistakes. They were wrong in their lukewarm and even hostile attitude to lay preaching: they had perpetuated and encouraged a type of ministry which was often excessively academic and without any warm, popular and evangelical appeal. They had allowed their Colleges to be controlled by little oligarchies of subscribers, instead of bringing them under the control of the Churches and the Unions. They had acquiesced in the unchristian idea that their work was to be almost exclusively among the educated middle class, whereas it was essential that the Gospel should be preached to the poor, and no Christian community could neglect this duty without serious loss to its own spiritual life. Above all, there had been a deplorable tendency to cultivate an “isolated Independency” which was spiritually unsound and practically disastrous: the ideal of the Congregational churches should be that of close and brotherly co-operation. In the latter part of his address Kirby maintained that things were improving, that a better spirit was growing, that the outlook for the denomination was becoming in every way brighter: he cited a number of facts and tendencies in support of this contention. It was on the whole a singularly frank review: the chairman’s criticisms, while severe, could be amply verified from the pages of history and from common observation. The address exhibited no pomp of rhetoric or parade of learning, but it reveals Kirby’s command of telling

English, the width of his reading, and the acuteness and orderliness of his mind.

The Union Assembly over which Kirby presided was marked by animated debates on at least two important public questions. One resolution, moved by the Rev. J. P. Sunderland, declared in favour of universal and uniform education, and demanded that all State aid to denominational schools should cease. These principles were embodied in the Act of 1880, already referred to. Another resolution, moved by Dr Jefferis, referred to the question of grants to religious bodies from certain land revenues. In 1826 certain large areas of land had been set aside for the purpose of sustaining Anglican churches and schools: when religious equality was recognized as a constitutional principle in the colony, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians and Wesleyans were admitted to a share in the benefits. Some of the land was realized and the proceeds invested, the interest of which was expended in grants. From 1871 to 1879 the Anglican Church received from these sources no less a sum than £22,000, while the Roman Catholic Church secured at least £13,000. The Congregationalists and the Baptists, true to their traditional principles, refused all participation in these grants, and denounced them as a breach of the doctrine of "a Free Church in a Free State." The Union now carried the Jefferis resolution, which demanded that these grants should cease and that the moneys in question should be applied to education and other public purposes. The Government shortly afterwards took action on these lines and announced that after a certain date all grants would cease and the lands revert to the Crown.

It was in connection with this matter that Kirby fell out with many of his brethren. In the past it had been common for the Government to make grants of this Crown land to denominations wishful to erect churches, schools and parsonages. The Congregationalists and Baptists refused grants of land as steadfastly as they refused grants of money. "No State aid to religion" was their battle-cry. Denominations untroubled by these scruples were now rushing to secure grants before the date appointed for their termination. Kirby was of opinion that the Congregational Union should abandon what he regarded as a merely "doctrinaire" attitude and follow the example of larger and wealthier communions. During his period of office as Home Mission Agent he had often found grave difficulty in securing suitable sites for his numerous schemes of Church Extension: in some cases progress had been made impossible by this difficulty. Kirby maintained that the "waste" lands were the gift of God, and that no one would be taxed or otherwise prejudiced by their cession for religious purposes: the churches stood for all that was most precious to the welfare of society and were fully warranted in accepting land-grants under the conditions that prevailed in the colony. The ideas inherited from English Independency could only be applied to such conditions by an altogether exaggerated scrupulosity. Why should New South Wales Congregationalists be more purist than the Pilgrim Fathers of America, who had made no difficulty about appropriating public lands for religious purposes? Why should they be more purist than the founders of Collins Street Independent Church, Melbourne, who had built their splendid

sanctuary—the cathedral of Australian Congregationalism—on a site freely granted by the Crown? He offered to procure a buggy, two horses and a black “boy,” and to make a site-selecting pilgrimage throughout New South Wales: he believed that by so doing he could easily secure lands worth at least a quarter of a million sterling. All his arguments were in vain: the sturdy old-fashioned “Independents” regarded them as snares of the devil, set to entrap unwary consciences. The Union had maintained its “Liberationist” principles pure and undefiled since its inception in 1866: it was not going to depart from them because the final hour of the system it hated was replete with dazzling opportunities of gain. Kirby’s proposals were summarily “turned down”: he angrily told his brethren that they had by their own act sentenced Congregationalism to perpetual littleness.

The strained situation created by this difference of opinion on a point both of principle and policy was intensified by Kirby’s growing conviction that many of the brethren were not whole-heartedly in favour of his method of rapid and aggressive Church Extension. It involved considerable financial strain, while the supervision of so many infant “causes” was a tax on the Union as well as on the Home Mission Agent. A large body of opinion favoured calling a halt and pausing to consolidate the ground already won or claimed. Kirby’s boundless energy and unquestionable organizing ability could be denied by none. Yet he was not born to be an official: he was too brusque and too “dominating” to please everybody.

About the middle of 1880 he determined to resign his

office and seek a pastorate elsewhere than in New South Wales. In the next chapter we shall trace the history of his settlement at Port Adelaide. On September 30, 1880, he ceased to be Home Mission Agent, though he was for another month the nominal chairman of the Union. Before the Annual Assembly met in October he was away to "fresh fields and pastures new." His Sydney friends, including those who had most disagreed with him, were unanimous in expressing their appreciation of his services. A farewell meeting was held at Pitt Street on September 25, attended by a great crowd of ministers and lay people. Jefferis presided, acknowledging the part he had taken in promoting Kirby's transfer to Port Adelaide, and speaking of his close intimacy with his departing friend. A laudatory resolution from the New South Wales Union was presented to Kirby by his former Sunday School Superintendent, good Randolph Nott, now one of the secretaries of the Union. Revs. J. P. Sunderland, Walter Mathison, B.A., the Moderator of the Presbyterian Assembly (Rev. George Grimm), and several others, followed in the same strain. Resolutions were presented both from the Home Mission Society (now called "The Congregational Church Extension Society") and from the Ministers' Fraternal, which spoke of "his earnest and multifarious labours for the Church of Christ." Kirby, in a lively reply, said that he had not always been as amiable as his friends had represented, for sometimes they had been inclined to go astray, and he had had to talk to them for their own good. He was especially pleased at Grimm's presence that evening, for Grimm had settled at Dalby as the first Presbyterian minister in that place

during Kirby's own pastorate: by a curious coincidence Grimm's Moderatorship and his own Chairmanship in New South Wales had fallen in the same year, and their photographs had appeared side by side in the Sydney newspapers. He thanked both Jefferis and Sunderland for the part they had taken in opening the way to such a promising sphere of usefulness as Port Adelaide. Kirby's successor at Ocean Street, Woollahra, Rev. William Bradley, appropriately commended him to God in prayer.

Thus, in the very place where the sacred eloquence of Cuthbertson had led him to momentous and fruitful decision, Kirby bade farewell to the great city which he had known for more than a quarter of a century, and in which he had laboured now for nearly a decade. He departed with the glad knowledge that he was leaving behind him in New South Wales memorials of his service more enduring than erections of wood and stone, or even than good laws written in the statute book of the colony: he thought with profoundest gratitude of lives made new by the transforming influence of the Gospel whereof God had made him a not altogether unprofitable servant.

Chapter V

MINISTRY AT PORT ADELAIDE (1880-1908)

KIRBY'S introduction to the church at Port Adelaide may be traced to a timely suggestion made to the friends there by the Rev. James Povey Sunderland (1821-1889). From 1864 to 1885 Sunderland was the official representative of the London Missionary Society in Australia, with his headquarters at Sydney. Sunderland is described by Kirby as "an able and consecrated man of God, full of practical ability." In an earlier chapter we have seen how the two men became associated in redressing the wrongs of the unfortunate Kanakas in Queensland. Sunderland's residence in Sydney enabled him to become familiar with Kirby's work at Ocean Street, Woollahra, and with his subsequent activities as the Home Mission Agent of the New South Wales Congregational Union: he was aware that Kirby was looking for an opportunity to return to the regular settled ministry, preferably elsewhere than in New South Wales. A visit paid by Sunderland to South Australia coincided with the arising of a vacancy in the pastorate at Port Adelaide: he naturally recommended Kirby to the notice of the church. This recommendation was powerfully supported by Dr Jefferis. Jefferis had exercised a successful ministry in North Adelaide prior to his settlement at Pitt Street, Sydney: his words had weight with South Australian Congregationalists, for he was intimate with Kirby and thoroughly conversant with the situation and needs at Port Adelaide. Jefferis himself returned to North Adelaide in 1895, thus renewing

his association with Kirby. He often recalled with satisfaction the part he had played in promoting Kirby's settlement at the Port.

The "approach" of the Port Adelaide church came at an opportune time. It happened that Kirby had made an engagement to spend the month of June 1880 in supply work at Collins Street Independent Church, Melbourne. It was therefore easy to arrange for him to extend his journey to South Australia, and thus to spend the month of July in preaching and visitation at Port Adelaide. He found the cause in a rather low condition, but soon satisfied himself that it had possibilities of revival. The Port Adelaide people had no hesitation in offering Kirby a "call": so far as they were concerned, Kirby came, saw and conquered. They remained loyal to Kirby through a ministry of twenty-eight years: he settled among them on his retirement: they followed mourning to his grave. It was to the Port Adelaide church that Kirby gave the ripe fruits of his ministry: it was there that he did his greatest work. Kirby was both a Christian evangelist and a Christian educationalist: prior to 1880 he was primarily an evangelist: after 1880 he was primarily an educationalist. He was indeed privileged to win many souls in Port Adelaide, but his main task was to build up an instructed and devoted fellowship in holy faith and noble service. On November 16, 1880, he was formally inducted to his new pastorate.

Congregationalism is relatively stronger in South Australia than in other parts of the Commonwealth. In Tasmania, New South Wales, Victoria, and Western Australia Congregationalism was not established till a

date considerably subsequent to the beginning of colonization. But in South Australia the founding of the colony and the establishment of Congregationalism therein were practically contemporaneous events. The first settlers arrived at the end of 1836: the first Congregational fellowship was organized by the Rev. Thomas Quinton Stow in 1837. South Australia offered more promising material for the building up of a strong religious life than could be found in the older colonies. No convicts were at any time transported to her fair shores: South Australia was a land of free settlers. South Australia had been colonized on a model scheme prepared by Edward Gibbon Wakefield: the scheme was launched in 1830. Wakefield sought to create a nicely balanced society of proprietors, yeomen and peasants: his scheme provided that land should be sold to settlers in comparatively small lots and that at least one-third of the proceeds should be employed to finance the bringing out of more labourers: thus the land and labour problems would both be solved. Into the merits and demerits of Wakefield's programme there is no need to enter. An Act of Parliament to facilitate its consummation was passed in 1834. The chief immediate problem before the South Australian Land Company—later known as the South Australian Association—was the raising of sufficient capital. The Home Government, while somewhat reluctantly lending its sanction to the enterprise, resolutely declined any financial responsibility. The solution of this problem was due to the interest of George Fife Angas (1789-1879); he it was who found the necessary capital and sent out the first settlers. Angas was a Baptist and deeply concerned

for the moral and spiritual welfare of the new colony : he exerted himself to secure that the settlers should be people of character and piety. Thus the type of early settler in South Australia may, without invidiousness, be described as superior to that which generally prevailed elsewhere. South Australia may also regard it as a blessing—albeit a negative blessing—that gold has never been found in payable quantities within her extensive borders : this has prevented the region from being overrun by the undesirable class of persons which commonly congregates in the vicinity of a real or supposed “El Dorado.” The kind of people who have settled in South Australia have been largely the kind of people who in England constitute the backbone of the Congregational churches. If Congregationalism in South Australia, as elsewhere in Australia, is not so strong as might be expected,¹ the explanation is partly to be found in the apparent unsuitability of the Congregational form of Church order to the conditions of work in a vast and thinly-populated country. Certain it is that the pioneers of the colony were in most cases serious and strenuous spirits : in these respects they created a tradition which many of their modern representatives seem hardly to maintain !

Port Adelaide is situated on low and marshy ground, seven and a half miles north-west of Adelaide. Its most enthusiastic citizen could not claim that it is a place remarkable for natural beauty, though there are fine beaches not three miles distant and the lovely range of hills which encircles the Adelaide plains provides a

¹ In 1880 there were just forty churches : in 1926 there are fewer than eighty.

distant view which is a continual refreshment. The place was originally and significantly known as "Port Misery." It is approached by an inlet of the sea which may be called the Gironde of South Australia. Entrance from the Gulf of St Vincent to this inlet is somewhat obstructed by a bar which prevents large ocean-going vessels from attempting the passage. Until 1908, when the great works known as the Outer Harbour were constructed, such vessels had to anchor in the open roadstead off Semaphore and to land their passengers in boats. Despite this hindrance, Port Adelaide has always been far and away the principal port in South Australia: its contiguity to the capital has outweighed the relative paucity of natural facilities. When Kirby settled there, it would seem that the place was visited by about four hundred vessels annually: nearly all immigrants and tourists made their entry into South Australia through Port Adelaide. The population at this period was rather under three thousand, but the importance of the place as a strategic centre for religious work was great out of all proportion to the size of the population.

The Congregational cause at Port Adelaide began with Port Adelaide itself. As early as 1838 Thomas Quinton Stow, the pioneer Congregational minister in South Australia, held public worship there, and from time to time devout laymen continued the work as opportunity offered. Sometimes the services were held on shore, and sometimes afloat. A rude building was erected in 1839, but was not long in use, the congregation finding a more convenient meeting-place in a new warehouse. Use was also made of a sail-loft. A receipt for the rent of this

strange conventicle is before me. No fellowship existed and the congregation was quite small.

The real history of the church begins with the advent of the Rev. Matthew Henry Hodge in September 1849. Hodge was born at South Molton, in Devonshire, in 1805, and received his training at the Western Academy, Exeter. He married the daughter of the Rev. George Payne, LL.D., who was Principal of the Academy. Leaving College in 1833 he went to Jamaica as a missionary of the London Missionary Society, but his wife's ill-health compelled him to return home. From 1838 to 1849 he ministered at Wiveliscombe, in Somersetshire. He then decided to migrate to Port Philip (now Victoria). Arriving at Port Adelaide in September, he was, as it were, "waylaid" by the local Congregationalists: a deputation, including two sea captains, waited on him and entreated him to assume the pastoral oversight of the work at Port Adelaide and Albert Town (Alberton). The commencing stipend was £100 a year, partly met by the Treasurer! Thus Hodge began a pastorate which lasted for upwards of twenty-seven years (1849-1877).

The fellowship at Port Adelaide was formed very shortly after Hodge's settlement: the number of foundation members in November 1849 was less than twenty: even so, it included Baptists, Wesleyans and Presbyterians, as well as Congregationalists. In course of time the members of other denominations "hived off," as indeed not infrequently happens in these "Union" ventures. Nor was it long before the Alberton friends became "independent": the Congregational interest in this residential suburb of Port Adelaide had a chequered history and finally disappeared early in the eighties.

But the Port Adelaide cause grew and prospered. In 1851 a stone church was in process of erection. Before, however, it was completed, the discovery of gold in Victoria resulted in the wholesale exodus of the male population to the "diggings." Hodge accompanied his congregation to their "El Dorado," as did also the contractor! The worthy pastor was not apparently successful as a "digger," but he excelled as a "beggar," for he actually collected during his three months' absence from Port Adelaide no less than £100 towards the Building Fund for the new church. Meantime services at Port Adelaide were sustained by three students. When the gold-rush subsided, Hodge returned with his people to Port Adelaide: the fellowship was re-formed and the new church opened for worship in April 1854. Work in this period was difficult: pious habits had been seriously impaired by the extraordinary conditions that had obtained during the gold-digging interregnum. Hodge was a man of grit as well as goodness: he pushed on quietly with his work: gradually the difficulties were overcome. In 1866 an unexpected disaster tested the spiritual as well as the material resources of his congregation, for in April 30 in that year the new sanctuary, of which they were so proud, was utterly destroyed by fire. They rose to the occasion. By the middle of 1867 the foundation stone of the now existing church building was laid: at the close of 1868 the structure was opened, being officially described as "a very excellent piece of Gothic work, equally pleasing to the eye and suitable for its purpose." The cost—£5000—was all defrayed before the death of the honoured pastor, from typhoid fever, early in 1877. Hodge was not a public

man and avoided all controversy: he gave himself entirely to the spiritual oversight of his own people and preached the old-fashioned gospel in the old-fashioned way. He created a tradition which still lingers in the Port Church.

The vacancy created at Port Adelaide by the death of Matthew Henry Hodge was filled by the election of the Rev. Matthew M'Kinnon Dick. Dick had been trained for the ministry of the Evangelical Union of Scotland, studying at the University of Glasgow and the Evangelical Union College in that city. He migrated to Australia in search of health, settling at Alma, a country township in South Australia, in 1873. He was a cousin of the illustrious first Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford. As became a relative of Andrew Martin Fairbairn, he was a minister of large culture and progressive theological views. His transfer to Port Adelaide was immediately succeeded by his election to the chair of the South Australian Congregational Union (1877-1878). His addresses on "The Liberty of Private Judgment" and "The Gospel for the Present Day" are remarkable for their spacious thought and courageous expression. Unfortunately the improvement in health which had followed on his settlement in South Australia was not sustained: Dick was a sick man during most of his brief pastorate at Port Adelaide: he passed away early in 1880. The cause at Port Adelaide naturally languished during the illness of its pastor: it needed both re-vitalization and re-organization when Kirby came upon the scene.

Such was the heritage on which Kirby now entered. It may be said at once, and without fear of contradiction, that his pastorate at Port Adelaide was successful in the

best sense of that much-abused word. If he did not attract enormous congregations, the church was almost invariably well filled. The morning and evening congregations were somewhat different in character, the former being of a "family" type, while the latter generally included a large contingent of strangers and young people. But Kirby's main interest was less in gathering a crowd than in building up a fellowship: he aimed not at a passing sensation, but at an enduring influence. The glory of his work was that it proved a lasting work: the people he taught and trained became steadfast in the faith and fruitful in service. It is worth while to try and analyse the causes of his success.

He was an arresting and unconventional preacher, with a gift for homely illustration and practical application. His sermons were not remarkable for profundity of thought or beauty of form, though he was keenly interested in theological issues and an indefatigable writer. His fund of common sense, the unerring directness with which he spoke to the everyday needs of everyday people, his intense earnestness and unwavering assurance, all contributed to the strength of his pulpit ministry. His sermons were as remote as possible from the "essay" type: he made little or no use of manuscript. But he resembled his Puritan models in that he was a "painful" preacher, *i.e.* he took pains over his sermons. Every address was carefully thought out and systematically planned: it had a definite theme and purpose from which the preacher never wandered. Kirby was not satisfied with expounding the Gospel and pleading with people to accept it: he made it his business to show how the Gospel was to be worked out and applied in the

actual situations of life. He aimed at the systematic instruction of his congregation in the mighty verities of the Christian faith, but he was no less concerned about the issues of Christian conduct: every question of private and public morality was set in the light of Jesus Christ and Him crucified. Kirby's presentation of theological truth was often what would now be called "old-fashioned," but his stress on the ethical and social implications of the Gospel was eminently modern. His sermons were not addressed to the doubts and perplexities of the academic mind, but designed to quicken the conscience and stimulate the will. Kirby's voice was not naturally robust, but he made the most of it: he married a timely message to a lively delivery. The fact that he held a large congregation for twenty-eight years is sufficient proof of the solid merit of his preaching, especially when we remember the tendency in Australia towards brief and superficial ministries.

Yet it is not primarily as a preacher that Kirby is remembered: he probably owed more to his pastoral gifts than to his pulpit ability. He thoroughly believed in the oft-quoted assertion that "a home-going pastor makes a church-going people." He was a keen admirer of Richard Baxter and an unwearied student of that greatest classic of Pastoral Theology—"The Reformed Pastor." He strove to do in Port Adelaide what Baxter had done in Kidderminster. The effort was more successful than might have been anticipated. Kirby's visitation of his people was much more than an occasion for amiable gossip: he was aware of the distinction between a pastoral visit and a social call. Rarely did he leave a home without earnest exhortation, reading

of Holy Scripture, and family prayer : if at all possible, he insisted that the children and the young people should come for "catechising." Every afternoon he was to be seen in the town, driving in his little phaeton from door to door, ministering in one home after another. The phaeton became known to all citizens as "the Gospel chariot." To the sick and troubled his serene faith and unfailing optimism proved a real tonic : he had "endured hardness" himself, and could sympathize with anybody who was "in the wars." Yet he was not afraid to reprove where reproof seemed needed : he never flattered anybody, and ministered as faithfully to faults and failings as to gifts and graces. His counsel was valued in temporal as well as spiritual affairs, for Kirby had as good a business head as any man in Port Adelaide and understood the ways of the world as well as the ways of the sanctuary. Thus, as the years passed, Kirby became one of the best known and most trusted men in the place : even those who disagreed with his opinions and laughed at his oddities knew that a man of God was in their midst, while his own people regarded him with mingled affection and veneration.

Much of Kirby's success was undoubtedly due to his enthusiasm for work among children and young people. Like his Master, he set the child in the midst : he was continually pleading with his brethren to do the same. He lavished much thought on the Sunday School, believing that a really efficient Sunday School is the best foundation of the Church that is to be. The need for this work was all the greater, inasmuch as in South Australia the State system of education is rigidly secular, excluding even the reading of the Bible "with-

out note or comment," whereas in New South Wales undenominational Bible teaching exists and clergy and ministers are allowed the "right of entry" in all the State schools. Kirby was appalled to discover that multitudes of children in South Australia grew up ignorant of the veriest rudiments of Bible knowledge. While untiring in his efforts to waken public opinion to the scandal and danger of this state of affairs, he was equally untiring in his efforts to make the most of the Church's function as the supreme agency of religious education. He found at Port Adelaide a vigorous Sunday School and a capable band of teachers. When removal from the district compelled the superintendent to resign, Kirby himself assumed that office for a season. But he wisely held that it would be better to secure a lay superintendent. Kirby was never so foolish as to attempt to do all the work of the church himself: he had a strong conviction that every church member should also be a church worker, and was exceedingly good at finding work for everybody: a minister who does work that ought to be done by laymen is both exhausting himself unnecessarily and depriving others of opportunity and education. Kirby was fortunate in securing the help of a series of good superintendents.¹ One of the best was Ernest James Stacy. Stacy was then a rising journalist on the staff of the *Adelaide Register*: Kirby induced him to enter the ministry, in which he has amply demonstrated the persistence of his

¹ The following gentlemen served as Sunday School superintendents during Kirby's pastorate:—W. F. Fennell, James Murray, J. W. Caire, Thomas Todd, junior, George Williams, Walter Hutley, Ernest James Stacy. The dates of some of these appointments are obscure.

zeal for work among the young, being to-day secretary of the South Australia Congregational Union and responsible for the administration of an up-to-date Young People's Department.¹ Kirby was always in favour of reforming Sunday School methods; he and Stacy were already converts to the modern "graded" system when G. Hamilton Archibald arrived in Australia to propagate it. Throughout Kirby's ministry the reorganized Sunday School fed the church with a steady stream of instructed and devoted young members.

The supreme value of Kirby's work in the evangelization of the young is that the results were permanent: the young folk were not borne into the Church on a mere wave of emotion, but thoroughly instructed. Kirby was an earnest believer in the value of the catechetical method: he himself wrote a catechism, and printed thousands of copies, chiefly at his own expense. In a later chapter we shall see how he strove to disseminate the idea among his brethren. Here we must chronicle the use he made of the catechism in training his own young people at Port Adelaide. He gathered them in little classes or groups, meeting periodically in different homes: each class or group consisted of a few friends living in the same district. As a rule the meetings were held in the evenings, but sometimes, especially with young women, in the afternoons. Each catechumen was provided with a copy

¹ It is significant that the three gentlemen who now are leaders in the Young People's Department of the South Australia Congregational Union were all trained under Kirby at Port Adelaide, viz.:—Leslie S. Smith (Chairman), Cecil E. Tapp (Secretary), Ernest J. Stacy (Superintendent).

of Kirby's catechism : three questions and answers had to be memorized and mastered for each meeting : the young people were expected to stand cross-examination and to know the Scripture proofs. When the twenty-six questions and answers had been thus discussed, Kirby put to his pupils the solemn and joyful issues of personal decision, dedication and discipleship : he made them realize that union with the Church of Jesus Christ is not a matter to be entered into lightly or unadvisedly, but a serious business, demanding much thought and earnest prayer. By this procedure Kirby gained on the average between twenty and thirty new members every year of his pastorate. The method we have described obviously entailed a considerable expenditure of time and energy on the part of the minister, especially when we consider that he had for many years not less than a thousand souls under his pastoral care, not to mention his almost innumerable public engagements. But Kirby regarded the training of his own young people as a matter of transcendent importance : no trouble could be too great in such a connection. Certainly he reaped a rich reward : the young people he had taught and won are most of them living monuments of Kirby's success in this department of his work : in Kirby's own phrase, they have never budged from Christ. His only regret, as he looked back on this work, was that he had not employed the catechism in the instruction of adults, as the old Puritans did : he tells of a minister who gave his deacons a good drilling in the catechism, with the result that they became better men and better deacons. But Kirby sorrowfully confesses that he himself never reached this height.

Many older readers will have grateful memories

of old-fashioned "mutual improvement" societies in connection with the churches of their youth: these societies did a great work, and their general extinction is a matter for regret. In 1881 Kirby established a "Young Men's Society" in connection with the Port Adelaide Sunday School: Sunday afternoons were devoted to the reading of papers and the discussion of worth-while subjects: a monthly magazine was one result of these meetings. The attendance was sometimes as high as forty. Many of the lads who received training through these meetings have since attained to distinction in politics, in journalism, in business, and in the Christian ministry. The original members of the Society were a particularly thoughtful set of young fellows and the discussions often reached a high level. The meetings were for a long time held in the minister's vestry, but the attendance outgrew this limited accommodation, and in 1901 a small hall was built for the Society at a cost of £200. The outbreak of the Great War caused a temporary break-up of the meetings, nearly all the members volunteering for active service and many being killed or disabled. But the Young Men's Society has been revived and continues to-day under the leadership of Bevan Kirby, the founder's younger son.

Two at least of the young men who received their early training in the Port Adelaide Church and Sunday School deserve to be commemorated here. Nicholas John Cocks, M.A., and Martin Luther Johnson, B.A., became alumni of Sydney University and students of Camden College. Cocks was for many years the honoured and beloved minister of Pitt Street Church, Sydney. A gold-medallist in philosophy, his knowledge

of Christian mysticism won him the friendship of Baron Von Hügel, while his poetry may claim a place among the best productions of Australia's muse. His unexpected death in 1925 cast a gloom over a wide circle of admirers. Johnson won a reputation as one of the ablest theologians in the Commonwealth: his reverent and inquiring spirit has also passed into the Beyond (Easter, 1926). Neither Cocks nor Johnson were men who appealed to the thoughtless multitude: in the Homeland they would probably have won fuller recognition than came to them in Australia. It is no small tribute to Kirby that he should have been able so powerfully to influence such choice spirits as these. In Cocks and Johnson he won for the Congregational ministry two of the ablest men: it is sad to think that they will never read this tribute to their venerated chief.

Closely connected with the Sunday Afternoon Young Men's Society was the Young Christians' Union, which met on a week evening. This was conducted by the young people themselves, a practice which developed their capacity for public speaking and public prayer, while they also received useful training in committee work. Kirby borrowed the idea of the Young Christians' Union from Dr Jefferis, who was very keen on the method of it. At a later date many of the Young Christians' Unions were superseded by Christian Endeavour Societies, but Kirby always thought that the original form of the organization was preferable, and the Port Adelaide Union is still in being to-day.

It is hardly necessary to remark that Kirby established a strong Band of Hope: he always regarded total abstinence propaganda as an integral part of the

work of a Christian church. Numbers of young people were induced to sign the pledge. In a seaport like Port Adelaide the lure of intoxicating drink is particularly apparent and disastrous, so the value of this educational society was all the greater.

Kirby's consuming zeal for work among the young people was not allowed to obscure the importance of other aspects of the church's business. While ever keeping the spiritual ends of the church in the forefront, he believed in the importance and value of good organization. When he came to Port Adelaide he found that church business was done in a casual fashion, highly obnoxious to his systematic mind. A debt of nearly £600 had been suffered to accumulate: Kirby hated debt, and he did not rest until the burden had been utterly removed. More delicate and difficult was the task of awakening the deacons to a more adequate sense of their duties. Hitherto there had been no regular Deacons' Meeting: business was transacted anywhere and anyhow. Kirby ordained that the deacons should meet monthly in the vestry for the regular discussion of church problems and church policy. The more conservative saints did not welcome this or any other innovation: at the first of the meetings only one deacon condescended to appear. The business was nevertheless transacted: after a time the recalcitrants discovered that their continued defection would only have the effect of depriving them of all "say" in the business done. It was not long before Kirby had created a diaconate as devoted and business-like as could anywhere be found: it was part of his creed that a minister got as a rule the diaconate he deserved.

The outstanding figure on the Port Adelaide diaconate in the early days of Kirby's ministry was undoubtedly Captain John Bickers. He was of Dutch descent, though actually born in Glasgow. Like many another excellent Christian, he was a child of the Shorter Catechism: he knew that formidable document from end to end. For thirty years he had sailed the seas: he was a famous mariner whose boast it was that he had never been involved in an accident because he always made a point of keeping at least ten miles away from any possible danger. As he walked his quarter-deck during the long watches he pored over the Scriptures to such purpose that he knew the epistle to the Romans by heart, as well as many other portions of Holy Writ. Of all the men that Kirby met, Bickers was the most ardent Biblical student: in extreme old age his greatest solace was to repeat to himself the wonderful words of life. The old sea-dog was, of course, a strict disciplinarian: he believed in everybody obeying the captain, and, so far as the Port Adelaide church was concerned, Kirby was the captain. He was wont to invite his fellow-mariners to his home and also to his church, nor did he forget to tell them that it was the right and proper thing to put at least half a crown in the plate. He was one of the founders of the Seamen's Home in Port Adelaide and helped to provide the Port Adelaide church with some measure of endowment. His memorial, erected by the merchants of Adelaide as a tribute to a just man who walked with God, now adorns the sanctuary at Port Adelaide.

One of the most laborious servants of the Port Adelaide church during and since Kirby's pastorate is happily

still spared to us. Walter Hutley was born in 1858 at Braintree. Filled with evangelistic ardour, he sailed for Central Africa as an artisan missionary in 1877. For the most part he worked in Ujiji, famous as the scene of the passing of Livingstone. Nearly all his colleagues died of blackwater fever. Ultimately his own health broke down: he was invalided to England in 1882. Coming to Australia in 1884 he followed various occupations, especially in connection with land agency and life insurance. He was for some years a teacher among the aborigines at Point M'Leay. He married as his second wife Rachel, daughter of the Rev. Francis William Cox, the well-known minister of Hindmarsh Square Congregational Church, Adelaide. He was active in public affairs, becoming Secretary of the South Australian Liberal Union and President of the State Children's Council, as well as President of the Aborigines Friends' Association and of the Sunday School Union, while in the Congregational denomination he played a great part. He made the prosperity and effectiveness of the Ministers' Provident Fund his especial care. Though now debarred from active service in the Mission field, he was a strong supporter of the London Missionary Society and became the leading spirit in the South Australia Auxiliary, serving both as Secretary and President. In 1923-1924 he was Chairman of the South Australia Congregational Union. But his keenest interest was in the church at Port Adelaide, of which he became a deacon in 1895, and which he served also as Sunday School Superintendent and Church Secretary. He and Kirby were intimate friends for forty years: it was Hutley who delivered the affecting

funeral oration when Kirby died. To Hutley's unwavering loyalty and enthusiasm both Kirby and the Church owed a great debt.

If the seafaring connections of Bickers and the missionary experience of Hutley lent to their personalities a touch of picturesqueness and romance, it was not because the other deacons at Port Adelaide were devoid of ability and distinction. There were seven deacons at the time of Kirby's advent, but he believed in the virtue of a large diaconate, holding the opinion that this policy discouraged cliques and oligarchies, while having the additional merit of drawing more men into active work. At one time he had no less than seventeen deacons, including several life-deacons. In a footnote is appended a list of thirty-eight brethren who served as deacons during Kirby's pastorate.¹ Many of these earnest men "purchased to themselves a good degree, and great boldness in the faith which is in Christ Jesus."

¹ Deacons in office in 1880:—Captain John Bickers, Henry Emes, T. Michelmores, Joseph Stone, Henry Ranford, J. Ballantyne, George Payne Hodge (Secretary till November 1881). Elected during Kirby's pastorate:—W. F. Fennell, James Murray, Sidney Malin, Josiah Oldfield, senior (1881). George Wilks, Z. H. Jones, J. R. Weston, Vickery Y. Jones (Secretary, 1882-1895) (1882). J. H. Lockyer (1885). Thomas Todd, J. S. Jones, senior, J. T. Davies, J. W. Caire, J. B. Clayton (1886). Thos. Caterer (1887). David J. Gordon, Hector M'Lennan (1888). C. J. Jenner (1889). W. Warren, C. R. Morris (1890). John W. Channon (1891). A. Whitehill (1902). J. H. Hannay (1894). T. G. Matthew, Walter Hutley (Secretary, 1895-1904) (1895). C. H. Johnson, E. H. Oldfield, Frank Cockington (Secretary, 1904 to conclusion of Kirby's pastorate in 1908) (1896). S. J. Hamlyn (1898). Ernest J. Stacy, Daniel Jones (1899). Frank W. Hancock, H. Hunwick (1902). W. W. Tapp, H. Clegg (1904). Bevan Kirby, F. Sheard (1905). E. Boon (1908).

The names of some of them will recur in this narrative. Henry Emes will be noted as accompanying his pastor to England : he too was a native of Buckingham. John W. Channon is well known in Port Adelaide as a business man, as a justice of the peace, and as a church musician : The Port Congregationalists owe him a large debt. Of the deacons who attained prominence in public life we can only mention a few. Thomas Todd was Mayor of Semaphore, and is now Secretary of the Country Party of South Australia. J. W. Caire was the first mayor of the City of Port Adelaide : Sidney Malin was also mayor and for a long time senior alderman. The Hon. C. R. Morris was four times mayor, and also a member of the Legislative Council of South Australia. His wife, happily still with us, is one of the ablest public women in the State, and has taken a fruitful part in political, social and religious work. The Hon. Sir David Gordon is now the leader of the Liberal Party in the Upper House, and a very influential member of the community. Thomas Caterer was one of the best-known educationalists in the State. Frank W. Hancock is a successful merchant, a good musician, and has been Vice-Chairman of the South Australia Congregational Union and Treasurer of the Australasian Union. Most of the thirty-eight brethren have now "fallen asleep," but some continue to this day in manifold good works. Kirby's debt to their loyal co-operation he would be the first to confess. They were indeed "a band of brothers." Deacons are often the objects of mirth and caricature, but those who have known many deacons agree with Kirby in regarding most of them as "the salt of the earth"—

“men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom.”

Kirby, like all right-minded ministers, attached serious importance to the development of a reverent and well-ordered form of worship. While he exalted the sermon, he never exalted it at the expense of prayer and praise. He was justly critical of the lazy and irreverent attitude so common during prayer in non-episcopal churches: he calls it “idle and desultory.” He liked the congregation to stand for prayer, as they had done in the olden days. His efforts resulted in a marked improvement at Port Adelaide: some years after his settlement he was delighted to receive a letter from a well-known official of the London Missionary Society, who had worshipped at the church in the course of his travels on deputation, and was both impressed and inspired by the reverence which characterized the service. It is to be regretted that such testimonials are all too rarely deserved by churches of the non-episcopal order, though there has certainly been considerable improvement in recent years.

The music of the sanctuary occupied a large place in Kirby's thought: he was ever alive to the importance of the service of song, and found in hearty congregational singing an unfailing source of inspiration. Happily a good tradition had been established at Port Adelaide. Matthew Henry Hodge, the venerated first pastor, had been a man of musical taste and enthusiasm. Prior to 1878 a small orchestra accompanied the harmonium, but in that year a fine organ was installed at a cost of £650. From 1878 to 1889 John W. Channon, well known in Port Adelaide as an able and assiduous Justice of the

Peace, officiated as choirmaster and organist : he was remarkably gifted as a leader of sacred song, and in thorough sympathy with the ideals of the minister. Under his auspices the choir made excellent progress, while the people "sang with the spirit and with the understanding also." In 1889 the church brought out from England a valuable helper in A. Wyatt Mortimer, A.R.C.O., formerly organist at Christ Church, Preston : he served as choirmaster and organist from that date until his lamented death in 1896. George Payne Hodge, grandson of Matthew Henry Hodge, served the choir for thirty-three years in all : he followed Mortimer as choirmaster and so acted until his own death in 1909. He is locally remembered as the founder of the Port Adelaide Orpheus Society, which is still in existence. Of succeeding organists the best known to South Australian Congregationalists is Frank W. Hancock—a most sympathetic musician : he is now the organist at Kensington Gardens, Adelaide.

With such able leadership it is not surprising that the choir became famous throughout the State and won many prizes in choral festivals and competitions. Kirby warmly encouraged his musical friends and delighted in their successes. Yet he fought many a battle-royal with the musicians over the use of "Moody and Sankey," which the generality of the congregation appreciated, but to which the musicians were, not unnaturally, opposed. On the other hand, he agreed with them about the desirability of developing chanting : he loved chanting, to the possibilities of which he had awakened in early days at Pitt Street, where William Fairfax, brother of the famous proprietor of the *Sydney Morning*

Herald, had introduced this new departure in sacred song. Nothing pleased Kirby more than to participate in a fine rendering of the "Te Deum." It was not long before the congregation learned to like chanting: it is altogether a mistake to imagine that chanting must necessarily be "uncongregational," for everything depends on how it is done, and how it is done depends on how it is taught.

Unlike some ministers, who leave the choice of hymns entirely to the choirmaster and organist, and unlike others, who make a hurried selection in the vestry immediately before the service, Kirby gave much thought and care to the matter of hymns. He was of opinion that the normal worshipper gained far more benefit and inspiration from hymns than from sermons: the hymns were often more enjoyed and almost invariably better remembered. He further held that an abbreviation of the sermon was less likely to involve spiritual loss than an abbreviation of the hymns. Some ministers will cruelly mangle a classical hymn in order to allow a little extra time for the sermon: Kirby thought this a mixture of vandalism and conceit: in his judgment there were few reverend gentlemen whose prose discourses could convey more instruction and inspiration than the poetic outpourings of Isaac Watts, Charles Wesley, George Rawson and Frances Ridley Havergal.

The women's side of the Church work was carefully developed by Kirby and his wife. There was a flourishing Mother's Meeting, and in 1903 a strong Women's Guild was established. At the outset of Kirby's ministry he was delighted to find a large and attentive

Young Women's Bible Class connected with the Sunday School. Its leader, Mrs Farrow, is described by Kirby as a woman of remarkable gifts and influence. She was of German birth and originally a Roman Catholic, but married an Englishman associated with the Port Adelaide Church. Through the influence of her devout husband and the reading of the Bible in the German version of Luther, she became an ardent evangelical. Her conversion was accompanied by mystical experiences of a remarkable kind. Thus her ministry to the young women was charged with a peculiar spiritual power and made a deep impression. For over thirty years this ministry continued : the death of Mrs Farrow was the occasion for a striking tribute of affection on the part of hundreds of women whom she had brought to a personal knowledge of the Saviour. She was indeed "a mother in Israel" : her loyal co-operation meant a great deal to Kirby, and he ever cherished her memory.

The expansion of the work at the church, and the increasing tendency of the people to move away from Port Adelaide itself, considerably increased the strain of pastoral visiting, so in 1904 Kirby secured a measure of relief by the appointment of a band of "deaconesses." The members and adherents were assigned to "districts," each district being visited monthly by the deaconess responsible. Regular meetings of the deaconesses were held, at which the ladies reported on the people under their care, thus enabling the minister to keep in touch with the entire constituency. This method, not uncommon in England, was a new departure in Australia, and was often commended by Kirby to the attention of his brethren.

In 1906 Kirby secured yet further relief by the appointment of the Rev. John Beukers as his assistant, with charge also of the cause at Kilkenny, a rising suburb between Adelaide and the Port. Beukers was, and happily still is, one of the personalities of Australian Congregationalism. Of Dutch origin, he had been in his early days very much of a wanderer on the face of the earth. He had served both in the navy and in the merchant marine, while he knew the interior of Australia as few Australians do. Moreover, he was a student of wide interests, who could discuss theology and recite classical poetry with equal facility. His rugged and original character bore some resemblance to that of Kirby himself : he was really too independent a person to enjoy an assistantship. In May 1908 he resigned and went to Kalgoorlie, in Western Australia, where he fought a good fight for Christianity and worthy citizenship : no missionary to the heathen has a harder job than the evangelist on the goldfields. He is now doing fine pioneer work at Barmera, on the Murray.

The year 1899 was the Jubilee year of the church at Port Adelaide and was naturally marked by appropriate celebrations. In July a series of evangelistic services was held, in the conduct of which Kirby enlisted the co-operation of four of the ministerial leaders of South Australian Congregationalism. In November another week was occupied with services and meetings of a more domestic kind. Ministers and lay-people came from far and near to share in the thanksgiving festivities. In addition to the religious celebrations, which extended over two Sundays, there were numerous other gather-

ings, including a "social" in the Town Hall, a public meeting and a young people's meeting in the Church, and a sacred concert. The Union offered its official congratulations. Altogether it was a memorable and uplifting time for both pastor and people.

The Jubilee celebrations were made the occasion of a valuable piece of church extension. Three miles from Port Adelaide is situated the rising seaside suburb of Semaphore, where there is a large and increasing resident population, reinforced in the summer by crowds of holiday-makers from Adelaide and elsewhere. In 1895 Kirby himself built a house there: in this house he lived for the rest of his days. Naturally he was awake to the possibilities of religious work in the district. A Sunday School was started by the Port Adelaide workers, some of whom had preceded or followed their pastor to Semaphore. In May 1899 the foundation-stone of the Semaphore Congregational Hall (otherwise called the Jubilee Hall) was laid by the wife of Sir Samuel Way, Chief-Justice of South Australia and Chancellor of Adelaide University. Sir Edwin and Lady Smith (prominently associated with Clayton Congregational Church, Kensington, S.A.) also graced the occasion. In August the place was opened by the Hon. C. Willcox, the address being delivered by the Rev. Alfred Jones of Melbourne. In the same year church services were commenced, out of which developed in 1912 an organized and vigorous fellowship. The church is now independent of all Union aid, and bids fair to become one of the most promising centres of South Australian Congregationalism. The church was fortunate in that its period of delicate infancy was

passed under the immediate eye of the veteran pastor. Successive pastors found it necessary either to "get on" or "get out"!

In November 1905 Kirby celebrated his silver jubilee as pastor of the church at Port Adelaide. Charles H. (afterwards Sir Charles H.) Goode presided: the chief speaker was the Hon. Thomas Price, the Labour Premier of South Australia. He warmly complimented Kirby on the contribution he had made to "honest politics" and on his fearless championship of the cause of women. The Nonconformist conscience, so much alive in England, seemed to wilt a little under sunnier skies, but Kirby had not suffered it to become altogether an extinct force. Letters were read from numerous philanthropic and religious organizations, and eulogistic speeches were made by representatives of all the societies associated with the church. The guest of the evening was presented with a testimonial, bound in morocco, which spoke of "a life-work of redemption" and testified to an esteem and affection which had only grown with the years. The occasion was also marked by the subscription of a sum of £225 to liquidate all outstanding debts of the church.

In 1908 the old warrior resolved that the time had come for him to relinquish the heavy responsibilities involved in the Port Adelaide pastorate. The church membership, which had been about two hundred in 1880, had grown to over three hundred and fifty, so the demands on the time and energy of the minister had become greatly increased. Further demands had arisen through the activity and success of the various flourishing societies that he had developed or created.

The tendency of the church to become more or less "down-town"—a tendency arising from its geographical situation in the centre of Port Adelaide and the movement of the population away from it—had created new and serious problems. It was apparent to Kirby that an able and energetic man in the prime of his powers was needed to cope with all this. He had himself fulfilled more than the three score years and ten allotted to man by the Psalmist : for nearly half a century he had laboured in the ministry of Jesus Christ : for nearly thirty years he had preached the Gospel to the Port Adelaide congregation. In three States of the Commonwealth he had exercised a fruitful ministry : in all of them he had played a prominent part in multitudinous public activities hardly considered as coming within the scope of a normal pastorate. Very wisely he decided not to defer retirement : it was obviously better to resign his stated ministry while in the fullness of his powers than to continue through years of decline and disappointment. Having thus made up his mind, he left his people in no doubt as to the finality of his decision.

Kirby preached his farewell sermon to a crowded congregation on Sunday, November 15, 1908. Taking as his text the familiar and pathetic words of St Paul in his valedictory utterance to the Ephesian elders at Miletus (Acts xx. 32), the Grand Old Man of Australian Congregationalism addressed a fervent exhortation to his beloved people. What his words signified to them must be measured by what his personality had implied to a whole generation in Port Adelaide. In the language of a contemporary journal, "he had brought

many of them into vital relations with Christ : he had been their wise counsellor in difficulties : he had been a true spiritual father to their children : he had set them all a shining example of practical, ungrudging and disinterested service in the cause of human good." The Rev. Thomas Hope, his friend and colleague of long standing, shared with Kirby in the sanctities of that hour.

On the following Tuesday evening a memorable public meeting was held in the Port Adelaide Church. The Hon. Senator Vardon travelled over five hundred miles in order to occupy the Chair. Eulogistic letters came from many people and many places. The Chief-Justice of South Australia (the Hon. Sir Samuel Way), the Premier of the State (the Hon. Thomas Price), the Chairman of the Congregational Unions of New South Wales and Victoria, and the venerable Dr Jefferis all paid appropriate tribute to Kirby's work and worth. Alderman C. R. Morris read a touching and stately resolution on behalf of the Church, which found yet another voice in its Honorary Secretary, Mr Frank Cockington. A gift of £150, supplemented by £50 paid into the Ministers' Provident Society for the solace of his declining years, symbolized a sense of obligation to the retiring pastor which no monetary recognition could possibly express. The Congregational Union of South Australia was represented by a special delegation, headed by the Rev. Joseph Robertson, M.A. The sorrow of parting was, however, cheered for the Port Adelaide congregation, as for Kirby himself, by the reflection that he left them with a property free of debt and in excellent repair, with numbers well maintained, and all the institutions of the church in

a condition of healthy activity. It was indeed a goodly heritage into which Kirby's gifted successor, the Rev. Lionel B. Fletcher, was destined shortly to enter.

Kirby's official association with the Port Adelaide Church continued to the end, for the church appointed him its honorary life-pastor. He acted as Moderator during the brief vacancy that succeeded his own resignation: indeed it was he who was mainly responsible for the appointment of Fletcher as his successor. With his keen eye for a good man, he had detected in the young pastor of Kurri-Kurri, New South Wales, qualities which have since caused the whole religious world to wonder and admire. It would be foolish to suggest that Kirby made Fletcher, but it is fair to say that he gave him his chance. On February 28, 1909, Kirby presided at Fletcher's induction. The period that followed was one of abounding prosperity: the church was soon crowded: conversions were frequent: the whole place was stirred. Fletcher's evangelistic passion, his unconventional methods, his zeal for Temperance—all these things commended him in the eyes of Kirby. The veteran watched without a trace of envy or jealousy the meteoric progress of his successor: Kirby had his faults, but littleness of spirit was not one of them. He supported Fletcher in every possible way, until at the end of 1915 Fletcher resigned to undertake a still greater work at Cardiff, South Wales. Fletcher's name is rightly honoured at Port Adelaide, yet he would be the first to admit that it was Kirby who really laid its foundations and trained the workers who helped to make it possible. Kirby sowed: Fletcher watered: and God gave the increase.

Equally earnest was Kirby's interest in the cultured ministry of the Rev. David Taylor Whalley, who entered on the pastorate in February 1916. Whalley was an English-trained minister, with a keen and well-stored mind. More definitely a student than either Kirby or Fletcher, he provided a type of ministry more calculated to win quiet appreciation than to excite popular enthusiasm. He resigned in 1921, on receiving a call to Surrey Hills, Melbourne: his sudden death occurred, however, before his intended removal was completed. Kirby presided at his induction and gave the address at his funeral.

Whalley was succeeded in 1922 by the Rev. Ernest W. Weymouth, a South Australian who had been trained at Camden College, Sydney. He proved an earnest pastor, but his stay was brief, in 1925 he removed to a church in New Zealand. The pastorate is now (1926) held by the Rev. Harry S. Joyce, who looks likely to renew the Fletcher tradition of aggressive evangelism.

It will be seen that Kirby saw no less than three successors in his former pulpit: we are now able to count four. After one ministry of twenty-eight years, Port Adelaide has had four ministries in less than seventeen years.

The account here given of Kirby's association with the church at Port Adelaide has been necessarily of a summary, and in some respects, a scanty character. Many names and details of a purely local or congregational interest have been omitted. The object has been rather to suggest than to sketch the extent and power of his influence as preacher and pastor. In the often invisible results of his work in this direction we

must recognize his abiding memorial. Many could look to the sanctuary and say, "This one was born there." Many others could testify to help received in dark and perplexing days, when the vision of God seemed obscured and the way was indeed "o'er moor and fen." Into multitudes of homes and hearts this man of God had come as a messenger of unfaltering faith, deathless hope and overflowing love. A work such as Kirby did is the best proof that in the Christian ministry is still to be found a service unique in its possibilities of private and public usefulness. As an artist works his colours into a beauty that seems almost to live, so Kirby wrought with the spirit of the Gospel in the souls of men, women and little children, and enabled many to reflect a beauty such as "never was on sea or land."

Chapter VI

A DENOMINATIONAL STATESMAN
(1880-1924)

IN the previous chapter we have confined attention to Kirby's work in connection with his own church at Port Adelaide: it seems advisable, in the interests of clearness and continuity, to separate as far as possible the various strands of his activity, and to consider them apart.

The experience of Kirby in Queensland and New South Wales had altogether undermined whatever belief he may originally have had in the virtues of "Isolated Independency." Without strong associations, or unions, for mutual counsel and co-operation, the Congregational churches become no better than a rope of sand. Thus it was that, early in the nineteenth century, the Congregational churches of England and Wales became associated in "County Unions" and then in the larger "Congregational Union of England and Wales." Many of the old-fashioned "Independents" watched these developments with suspicion and even hostility: they feared lest the autonomy of the local congregation might be imperilled and also that the life of the churches might suffer from the growth of a centralized officialism. These fears have been falsified by the event. The Unions have gone on and increased greatly in function and influence: they have done things that the churches in the old days could not have dreamed of doing: indeed they have helped more than anything else to strengthen Congregationalism to face the tasks and

problems of a new era. Without close and effective co-operation between the local churches it is obviously impossible to devise or work any effective schemes of ministerial training and sustentation, to provide for systematic church extension, and to make the voice of the denomination a power in public affairs. The conditions in Australia made the need of union the more pressing. Hence in every colony a Congregational Union was formed : in South Australia the Union dated from 1850, when the first Annual Assembly was held under the chairmanship of the Rev. T. Quinton Stow. The Union has, of course, no formal control over the self-supporting Independent churches, but its moral influence is very great and its functions increasingly varied and important.

From the commencement of his ministry in South Australia Kirby was closely identified with the work of the Union. He was an active member of the Executive and a constant contributor to denominational discussions and controversies. He was a keen debater, and his way of putting his views was often not merely pungent but provocative. In the early days of his association with the Union he was often looked on as "a young man in a hurry," while he thought the elder brethren were decidedly of the "stick-in-the-mud" type! Unless Kirby *was* "the Government," he was apt to be "agin it."

Being almost as much a journalist as he was an evangelist and an educationalist, Kirby was naturally alive to the importance of maintaining a vigorous denominational "Press"—a matter about which many Congregationalists have always been rather lukewarm. He

therefore examined the monthly *South Australian Congregationalist* with a critical eye: he pronounced it a dull and depressing production. Nor did he conceal his unfavourable opinion: Kirby liked to proclaim his views on the house-tops. When, therefore, a vacancy arose in the editorship, Kirby was invited to assume the fallen mantle. He jumped at the opportunity, and proceeded to "enliven" the pages of the magazine. He certainly succeeded: the circulation soon doubled, and his articles excited comment and criticism in the secular Press. But the matter introduced was of so controversial a nature that the Executive was assailed with protests: the sweepings of the new broom made altogether too much of a dust. His editorship lasted from March to October 1881, when he resigned in dudgeon. Kirby was a really able contributor, but he lacked the temperament of an ideal editor.

Within a month of his acceptance of the editorship Kirby read a paper at the Annual Meetings of the Union which may fairly claim to have been prophetic. He pleaded that the Congregational polity needed to be modified to suit Australian conditions: a polity that might have been inevitable among the scattered congregations in seventeenth-century England could hardly be adapted without serious changes to the totally different situation in a new land like Australia. Congregationalism must be ready to go some distance in the direction of connexionalism, if the denomination was to count for much in the religious life of the Southern Continent. While men like Thomas Binney and Robert William Dale expected that the democratic nature of the Congregational order would assure for

it a large and flourishing constituency in lands like Australia, Kirby was under no such illusion: he realized, as a result of his own experience, that its practical drawbacks outweighed its theoretical advantages. The Congregationalists of 1881 were not at all prepared to accept Kirby's diagnosis, but he has been abundantly justified by events. During the recent discussions on Church Union the overwhelming majority of Australian Congregationalists have shown that they are prepared to follow their Canadian and South African brethren into a Church which is definitely connexional. The views which were anathema in 1881 became acceptable by 1920.

In the same address Kirby appealed for a more adequate recognition of the work of women in the churches, and suggested the formation of an order of deaconesses. This also was advanced doctrine in 1881, which has now come to be commonplace. Yet another evidence of prophetic foresight was Kirby's advocacy of the assignment to Australian Congregationalism of a special field of foreign missionary work, to be under the immediate control of an Australian Committee, subject of course to the general supervision of the central Directorate of the London Missionary Society. This also has come to pass, though only comparatively recently.

In October 1881 Kirby, already aggrieved by the criticisms passed on his editorial efforts, was further annoyed by another demonstration of the liking of the brethren for "the old paths." The Congregationalists of that period, swayed by men like Edward Miall, Robert William Dale, and J. Guinness Rogers, believed

that the darling principle of the complete separation of Church and State logically entailed the exclusion of any religious subject from the school curriculum: they advocated a "secular" type of State education, believing that it was the privilege and duty of the Churches to provide all needful religious instruction. This was the system which actually prevailed in South Australia, and still prevails. Naturally the system was attacked not only by Roman Catholics but by Anglicans: strong efforts were being made to alter it. The Union was therefore asked to adopt a resolution in favour of maintaining the existing system and against the proposed alterations. Kirby fought the resolution "tooth and nail": it seemed to him an example of "logic run mad." He was no friend of denominational teaching at the public expense: his record in New South Wales sufficiently proved his soundness on that point. But the "Public School League" of New South Wales had always been ready to allow for moral and religious teaching of a broad unsectarian character. To Kirby the entire exclusion of the Bible from the people's schools seemed both a blunder and a wrong: it deprived the children of the most precious of all means of literary culture as well as of the most powerful agency of civic and moral training. Kirby contended in vain against the influence of men like Francis William Cox and Charles Manthorpe: the honoured veterans of the "Old Guard" carried the resolution by twenty-two votes to seven. Nor was this the last defeat that Kirby encountered in this connection, for as late as 1901 we find the Union adhering to the same position. Kirby, however, lived to see the great majority of South

Australian Congregationalists swing round to his point of view : it is safe to say that the Congregational Union to-day is overwhelmingly in favour of having "the people's Book in the people's schools." For the present he suffered, not exactly contentedly, the rebuffs which ever attend the way of the pioneer and the prophet.

After these episodes Kirby absented himself for a season from the monthly meetings of the Union Executive. But it was not in his nature to persist in this policy of self-isolation, especially when some of the leading men in the Union besought him to abandon it. In April 1882 the movement of reconciliation was crowned by a visit on the part of the Union to the church at Port Adelaide. The meetings on that occasion were enlivened by Kirby's strong address on "The Influence of Congregationalism on Modern Politics." In October 1882 the Union met at Kapunda : Kirby brought the fathers and brethren face to face with the delicate issues of Social Purity—a feat more difficult in those prudish days than in this era of Freudianism. In April 1883 he returned to the war-path on the subject of "The Bible in the Schools," and moved a resolution in favour of instruction by the regular teachers in school hours (on the lines of the Cowper-Temple system in England). An amendment in favour of the purely secular system was supported by Cox and Manthorpe, as before, and on this occasion by W. Roby Fletcher, M.A., the learned and influential minister of Stow Church. Kirby was beaten by 32 votes to 17.

In 1886 the growth of Kirby's influence in the Union was marked by his elevation to the Chair. His address

from the Chair was on the subject of "The Final Triumph of Christ's Kingdom on Earth." It included an outspoken advocacy of what was then regarded as the heretical and dangerous doctrine of Evolution. Charles Darwin's classic had appeared in 1859. It had found eager readers among the squatters of Queensland, who applied its principles to the practical business of sheep-breeding. Kirby read it during his time in Queensland, and became convinced of the truth and value of Darwin's facts and generalizations. He now pointed out that the question of Evolution was, after all, only a question of the Divine method, and that the acceptance of the new hypothesis in no way imperilled the essential contentions of the Christian Theist. This position, now widely held by thoughtful Christians, and almost universally by Congregationalists, seemed to the more conservative brethren of forty years ago as obnoxious as it now is to the Legislature of Tennessee. Kirby was sometimes regarded as a "Fundamentalist": he was certainly conservative in his Christology and in his view of the Atonement, while of the "Higher Criticism" he understood little and cared less. But in other directions he could be remarkably unconventional, and was not averse to the most daring speculations. At a somewhat later date he immersed himself in Alfred Russel Wallace, and spoke of the universe as "simply a vaster undeveloped Australia, the raw material of a nobler universe yet to be": he thought with Russel Wallace of other worlds as possible settings for spiritual developments impossible here on earth, and of life beyond the grave as a kind of endless procession through starry spheres. A thinker of this order is manifestly

only partially described when we label him a "Fundamentalist": he was in many ways a "Modernist" too.

About this time Kirby became converted to what is called the "Preterist" view of the Second Advent. In Australia, as elsewhere, there are a considerable number of Christian people obsessed with pre-millennarian ideas: Kirby was not attracted by a point of view which he regarded as unpractical and even anti-social. On the other hand, he was not prepared to accept the expedients of some "Higher Critics," who either seek to challenge the authenticity of the Gospel text or suggest that our Lord's apparent expectation of an early Return was simply an evidence that His human knowledge and foreknowledge were limited by the conditions of His Incarnation. Kirby's common sense prevented him from taking up with the pre-millennarian view, while his conservatism, especially in matters of Christology, prevented him from adopting any of the distinctively "modern" views. He was delivered from both alternatives through reading a book by the Rev. Ernest Hampden-Cook, M.A., who was then ministering in New Zealand: the book was entitled *The Christ Has Come*, and maintained that Christ came personally at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, that He comes personally to individuals at the hour of death, and that He will come to all at the end of the world. A similar view had been advocated by J. Stuart Russell in his once-famous book on *The Parousia*.

It would be wearisome to trace in detail all the activities of Kirby in connection with the Union during the twenty years that elapsed between his first and his

second occupancy of the Chair (1886-1906). There was hardly a subject under the sun on which Kirby was not prepared to address his brethren and move an appropriate resolution: the programme of almost every Assembly was bedecked with his "notices of motion." It was in this way that he sought to educate the public opinion of the denomination and even to influence public opinion outside. Most of the social questions thus dealt with will be reviewed in the next chapter. Certainly the breadth of Kirby's interests had a beneficial reaction on the Union: it prevented the Assemblies from being exclusively concerned with matters of merely parochial and sectarian concern. This does not mean that Kirby took no stock in matters of denominational efficiency: on the contrary, he was continually striving at what he thought were needful reforms in the organization both of the Union and of the constituent churches. But Kirby ever regarded the Church as a means to the Kingdom of God rather than as an end in itself: he wanted to see Congregationalism in the van of social progress and evangelic service, and to a large extent he succeeded in imbuing his brethren with his own ideals.

In South Australia, as in New South Wales, Kirby was an unceasing advocate of Church Extension. There was much land to be possessed, and the tribes of Congregationalism were all too slow to enter in. In 1882 Kirby accepted the oversight of the struggling cause at Salisbury, 12½ miles north of Adelaide, and for nearly twenty years helped it through fair weather and foul. From 1883 to 1896 he strove to develop a cause at Yatala, between Adelaide and Salisbury—a place well known because it is the site of the State Prison. This

work had finally to be handed over to the ubiquitous Methodists. Better fortune attended his interest in the work at Renmark, far away up the Murray, which was becoming the centre of a great fruit-growing settlement. A cause was established in 1889: thanks to the Parkin Mission it is still maintained. To his work in connection with Semaphore we have alluded in the previous chapter.

In 1906, rather against his will, Kirby received the signal honour of a second election to the Chair of the South Australian Congregational Union. His Chairman's Address, delivered at Stow Church, Adelaide, on October 18, was a characteristic utterance. He reminded his audience that seven babies are born every minute in the British Empire—six dark-skinned and one white. With this as his text he launched into a fervid plea for child-nurture. He pointed out that the tending of the lambs was our Lord's primary commission, and that the solemn obligation imposed thereby rested on all Christians, not merely on ministers and clergy. He claimed that the Church ought to function as a mighty educational agency: its supreme and sacred business was to teach children the art and science of eternal life in Christ Jesus. He warmly criticized the conventional curriculum of the theological colleges: the student needed to learn not merely the subject matter of his future teaching, but also and especially the right method of teaching. Psychology and pædagogy, he urged, were far more necessary to the young minister than a knowledge of Hebrew roots and ancient heresies. Ministers should be trained in knowledge of the child and in how the child might best be approached

and won: then they might hope, through normal courses in every Church, to rear a race of Sunday School teachers with zeal "according to knowledge." Much that Kirby said is fairly commonplace to-day, but it was not so commonplace in 1906, and it is a message that still needs to be delivered.

Kirby had another opportunity of addressing the Union from the Chair, when it met for the half-yearly assembly on April 10, 1907, at Rose Park. At this time the religious world, and more particularly the Congregational section of it, was riven with controversy arising out of the "New Theology" propounded by the Rev. R. J. Campbell, M.A., of the City Temple, London. Certain ministerial brethren in South Australia were supposed to be indoctrinated with the errors attributed to Mr Campbell. Kirby's address was not exactly a diatribe against the "New Theology": it was a positive and constructive testimony to the truths which Mr Campbell's followers were alleged to decry. The title of the address was in itself a challenge: Kirby spoke on "The Theology of the Glorious Blood." In it he expounded anew the evangelical doctrine of the Person of Christ, with strong emphasis on our Lord's eternal pre-existence and cosmic significance. But the main stress of the utterance was on the Pauline doctrine of atonement, which Kirby read in terms of substitution. The orator recalled that in his early days in Queensland he had been attracted by Bushnell's presentation of what Kirby described as a "subjective" theory of the Atonement; he affirmed that the effect was to destroy the evangelical power of his preaching, with the sad result that for two years his ministry had

been barren of conversions. Only when he returned to the view-point for which he was now pleading did the old power come back and the old results ensue. Kirby's impassioned plea for "the old paths" made a great impression, which, however, was somewhat spoiled when a well-intentioned, but tactless, brother disturbed the solemn hush of the gathering by rising to move a vote of thanks. The address is chiefly interesting to-day as a personal testimony: it searched out and exposed some of the more obvious weaknesses of what was then called "Campbellism," but it failed to recognize, much less to meet, the very strong objections that have compelled most Christian thinkers and preachers to depart very considerably from Kirby's version of the Pauline gospel.

These uncompromising denunciations by Kirby had the natural effect of exasperating the "New Theology" controversy. The advocates of the "advanced" position were indeed only a small group of men, but they were men of ability and influence. All through 1907, 1908 and 1909 the wordy warfare continued. Strong things were said and friendships were strained almost to breaking point. The situation reached a crisis at the meetings of the Union in October 1909, when Kirby moved a resolution "That Congregationalists have, and ought to have, a common creed." The obvious intention of the resolution was to drive out of the Union those who declined to subscribe to it. Many who had little sympathy with the "New Theology" were not willing to go so far as this: it was one thing to maintain "the faith once for all delivered to the saints," and quite another thing to enforce on Con-

gregationalists a common creed, even if the peculiar organization of the Congregational churches had made such enforcement possible. The very word "creed" was, as Kirby said, "an abomination" to many Congregationalists. Kirby therefore sought leave to amend his motion to read "That Congregationalists have, and should have, common articles and principles of belief, and that there should be a general agreement and understanding as to what is taught in our churches." This amended motion by no means appeased the indignation of the opposition: it was too obviously a concession in form rather than substance. Dr Jefferis, who had no desire to see the Union utterly disrupted, and equally no desire to identify himself with the "heretics," sought to evade the issue by moving the previous question. This was negatived by twenty-two to seventeen. Kirby then contended strenuously that the Churches had the right and the duty to determine and proclaim to the world the "essentials" of a "common and corporate theology," and that no Congregational minister ought to depart from these. Historic Congregationalism had been born of, and based on, very clear and definite beliefs, which were now impugned by Congregational ministers in Congregational pulpits. He was not in favour of a hard and fast creed, but he argued that it was absurd for Congregationalists to treat the central articles of Evangelical Christianity as if they were, or could be, "open questions." The heretics had violated the "honourable understanding" which had hitherto made formal definitions unnecessary. Unless the Union was prepared to affirm his motion, Congregationalists would

not know what the denomination stood for, or whether it stood for anything. Such a condition was intolerable : it meant that Congregationalism would perish as a religious witness. The resolution was seconded by A. E. Norman, a much-respected layman, who said that the motion was really directed against the "calumny" that Congregationalists no longer believed that Jesus was "God manifest in the flesh."

The Rev. Alfred E. Gifford, then minister of Brougham Place Church (now of Surrey Hills, Melbourne), moved an amendment "That Congregationalists have a common faith." He warned Kirby and those acting with him that the carrying of the original resolution would mean nothing less than the disruption of the Union, and that the responsibility would rest with them. He said that the absence of a formal creed had ever been one of the glories of Congregationalism, but its supreme glory was that it cherished a vital and imperishable faith. The amendment was seconded by the Rev. F. V. Pratt, M.A., of Angaston (now of Hobart), who pointed out that there was no authority in Congregationalism competent to draw up "a common creed," and that many men had actually entered the Congregational ministry for no other reason than their desire to be free from the ancient shackles which other Churches endured. The amendment was then supported by the Rev. A. Depledge Sykes, of Stow Church (now of St Cyprian's, North Adelaide), and by the Rev. Dr Jefferis. Kirby, doubtless realizing that the weight of influence and numbers was against him, consented to withdraw his motion in favour of the amendment, which was then formally carried. There can be no doubt that any other result

would have been a serious disaster to South Australian Congregationalism.

It is only fair to add that the theological controversy which thus reached its climax ended in something like a complete reconciliation. The "conservatives" of that period have shed much of their rigour and vigour, while the "heretics" have repented of some of the rash and reckless things they said. Kirby himself became greatly softened and mellowed as the evening shadows drew on: he never ceased to be positive, but he ceased to be intolerant. It may indeed be claimed that the "comprehensiveness," which Anglicanism seeks to achieve, has been achieved in practice very much more successfully by Congregationalism. What was superficial and unsound in the "New Theology" has died a natural death, while the truths it over-stressed have won a more adequate recognition than was previously theirs.

Kirby was a strong believer in the raising of a ministry Australian-born and Australian-trained. In the early days, and for long afterwards, it was necessary to secure many recruits from England: even now many of the pulpits, especially in the large churches, are thus supplied. This procedure has obvious disadvantages. Sometimes the recruits are unable to adapt themselves to the new conditions, and in any case it takes them a few years to do so. In October 1889 Kirby urged on the South Australian Union the need for creating a college in Adelaide. From 1872 to 1886 the Congregationalists of South Australia had co-operated with the Baptists and Presbyterians in the conduct of what was called "The Union College of South Australia":

about twenty-three men had been trained under this arrangement, including six Congregationalists. Dr Jefferis and the Rev. W. Roby Fletcher, M.A., had rendered yeoman service in this work. At the close of 1886 the Presbyterians decided to withdraw from the scheme: this led to its collapse. For twenty years the Congregationalists of South Australia had to draw their men from colleges in Melbourne or Sydney, or from home: the absence of a college on the spot was inevitably detrimental to the recruiting and training of local men. Kirby was acutely conscious of this: having raised the question in 1889, he returned to it in an address to the Union at Angaston in April 1896. But it was not till 1906 that anything effective was done. In that year the Adelaide Congregational College was brought into existence. Kirby was appointed President, and so continued through the four years that the College existed. The tutorial work was undertaken by qualified ministers in the city and suburbs. Between 1906 and 1910 eight ministers were thus trained, while three students received part of their training. Meantime, the Parkin Trust was slowly accumulating. This endowment had been bequeathed for the purpose of establishing a college as far back as 1877, with the proviso that no steps should be taken in this direction until the net income was at least £1000 annually. Unfortunately, certain of the investments depreciated, with the result that the proviso was not satisfied till the year 1910. Parkin College was then inaugurated, with Rev. Llewellyn D. Bevan, B.A., LL.B., D.D., as its first Principal. The Adelaide Congregational College was therefore no longer needed: the three students remain-

ing were handed over to the care of the new Principal, and Kirby's responsibilities came to an end. But his interest by no means ceased. Not only was he the chief recruiter of the College, but he was also deeply concerned for its efficiency. The traditional type of training seemed to him inadequate to modern needs. As early as 1890 he was urging the importance of affording theological students some insight into political economy and sociology : in his later years he was eagerly pressing for their instruction in matters of child nature and child nurture. He was always fearful lest the College should be unduly dominated by academic interests, to the neglect of things more really vital.

The crowning honour of Kirby's ministry, so far as the Congregational denomination was concerned, came to him in 1907, shortly before his retirement. The Congregational Union of Australasia was constituted at Melbourne in 1888 : the First Assembly met at Wellington in 1892, under the Presidency of the Rev. W. Roby Fletcher, M.A., of Adelaide. Interest seems then to have temporarily evaporated, for the Second Assembly was not held till 1904, when the Union met at Melbourne : the President on this occasion was the Rev. John Fordyce, M.A., D.D., of Sydney. The Third Assembly took place at Sydney in 1907, when the Rev. A. Gosman, D.D., of Melbourne, occupied the Chair. It was on this occasion that Kirby was elected President, though it was not till 1910 (after his retirement from the Port Adelaide pastorate) that he was called upon to deliver the Presidential Address at Hobart. The Union has, of course, no legislative power, but its triennial assemblies fulfil a useful function in promoting a closer

fellowship among the scattered Congregationalists of the Antipodes, and the addresses delivered are often of a high inspirational as well as instructive quality. The Hobart meetings, which began on January 21, 1910, were somewhat shadowed at the outset by the sudden death of Kirby's old friend and fellow-student, the Rev. J. J. Halley, who passed away as the boat by which he was to travel to Tasmania was about to leave the wharf at Melbourne. Kirby's Presidential Address was on "First Things in Training Efficient Ministers and Pastors." He began by stressing the importance of a good mathematical and classical grounding as a preliminary to theological studies. The Colleges should make students realize that the whole purpose of the Christian ministry is to bring about a true reconciliation between man and God, and the training of ministers should be controlled by a recognition of this supreme end. They should be taught how best to deal with different classes of people, above all with the young. Only less important than the inculcation of a sound and preachable theology is the inculcation of wise pastoral methods and business-like ways of administration. The English Bible should have the central place in the course, alike for its significance as the basis of Christian teaching and for its value as a well of English undefiled. Students should be taught the fundamentals of political economy and political science, lest in discussing problems of land and labour, wages and welfare, they "cackle like geese." The matter of breathing, voice-production and elocution should have more attention: consecrated ability often runs to waste through failure here. A Theological College is not merely or chiefly an academic

institution, but a training ground for soldiers and captains, analogous to a Staff College rather than to a University. The address showed Kirby at his best: it is full of shrewd common sense and may still be pondered with profit by those concerned, as all Christians should be, in the education of men for the greatest of all vocations.

While Kirby was thus a strenuous worker and leader in the interests of Congregationalism, he was far from being sectarian in his ecclesiastical outlook. At the South Australian Union meetings in October 1895, he dilated on the scandals of overlapping in the matter of Church extension: in Australia, as in England, it is no uncommon thing for some small centre to exhibit the spectacle of three or four, or even half a dozen, competing denominations establishing feeble "causes." Where there might be one strong and self-supporting church, money and energy are wasted in subsidizing and maintaining all these feeble ones. The scandal is all the greater, because there are vast areas almost destitute of any religious provision whatever. At the Union meetings in October 1890, he had urged the establishment of a Council of Churches to encourage a spirit of co-operation and to check this evil of overlapping. Now he returned to the charge—this time with success. A Council was established, in which Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, "Disciples," Quakers and Congregationalists finally came to participate: one is reminded of the English "Free Church Council." Kirby was associated with the Council for many years, and was in 1911 its president. Unfortunately it never acquired much real influence: its functions were purely

deliberative, apart from occasional united "missions." It failed to stop overlapping, which indeed became worse and worse.

Kirby, like many other people, now came to the conclusion that the only way to stop overlapping and secure the best results for Church work in Australia was by means of an organic union between the various denominations. The Presbyterian Church took the initiative in this direction, and for many years a scheme was under discussion for uniting the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational Churches on a basis somewhat similar to that recently adopted in Canada. Some of the Congregational brethren were decidedly hostile to the basis: they disliked the contemplated polity, which was a mixture of Presbyterianism and Methodism, with a very small tincture of Congregationalism, and they disliked even more the rather elaborate doctrinal schedule to which all ministers were to yield a general assent. But the great majority of Congregationalists agreed with Kirby that union was worth the sacrifices demanded: it was among the Presbyterians that opposition was strongest and most vocal. It is certain that the consummation of union would have resulted in a serious schism in the Presbyterian Church, as indeed has actually occurred in Canada. The Australian Presbyterians, unlike their Canadian brethren, refused to face this schism: in 1924, after twenty years of discussion, the General Assembly, taking note of the acute division of opinion, decided to shelve the matter. Kirby, like many other people, was bitterly disappointed: he thought the issue was a victory of sectarianism over common-sense Christianity.

*Chapter VII*PUBLIC QUESTIONS IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA
(1880-1924)

IN the previous chapters we have confined attention to the more domestic and denominational aspects of Kirby's ministry in South Australia. His ministry, however, had a much wider scope and influence than these chapters could indicate: the twenty-eight years at Port Adelaide were crowded with public activities which made Kirby's name a household word in South Australia and even beyond. These activities were so extensive that they seem to demand a chapter to themselves.

The significance of Kirby's work as a social reformer can only be fully understood by those who have some realization of the characteristic Australian background. Principal Selbie revealed in his biography of Charles Silvester Horne a personality somewhat resembling Kirby: there is the same combination of evangelistic fervour and reforming zeal. Kirby, like Horne, believed that every social and political question was ultimately a moral and spiritual question, and that it was absurd to regard such issues as outside the purview of the Christian preacher. Kirby, like Horne, was a doughty controversialist, who was as much at home on the platform as in the pulpit. Kirby, like Horne, was continually writing for the Press and issuing tracts and pamphlets in support of his reforming ideas. Kirby, like Horne, was an enthusiastic admirer of Cromwell and the Puritans: in Kirby's Buckingham home the family cherished as an heirloom the sword which an ancestor

had wielded in the battles of the Civil War. Kirby had not enjoyed the advantages which Horne reaped from his University and College training, but he largely made up for this by his omnivorous reading : he rarely entered a controversy without thoroughly mastering its history and data. The sphere of Kirby's life seems indeed remote and obscure by comparison with that of Horne, but his influence was probably even greater within that sphere : in Australia any man of real ability and energy may be reckoned as "a big fish in a small pond." But Horne was far less hampered than Kirby by the traditions of the churches : whereas the English Congregationalism of the nineteenth century was permeated with Liberal politics and accustomed to being involved in political agitations, this was by no means true of the Congregationalism of Australia. The churches in Australia have far less public influence than the churches in the Homeland : they rarely intervene in questions of a political or semi-political character, and, when they do, their intervention is seldom effective. Kirby is one of the very few examples of a Christian minister in Australia becoming a social and political crusader : the sad part of the business is that at the present time he seems to have left no real successor. Men of the Kirby type are needed in Australia if her politics is to be saved from degradation and her religion from narrowness and stagnancy.

Early in the eighties the question of the State regulation of vice came to the forefront in South Australia, as it had done in the Old Country. A pamphlet was published setting forth the alleged advantages of the French system of licensed brothels. Not a few people

of influence were affected by the specious attractions of this system—among them Kirby's friend, Edwin Henry Derrington, owner and editor of the *Port Adelaide News*, afterwards a member of the South Australian Parliament. Kirby was already well posted on the subject. In a number of *The Friend*, which had been sent to him from England, the details of the French system were fully described and its abominations exposed. He became assured that it was his duty to take a public stand on this delicate and distasteful subject, though we may well believe him when he says that it cost him "a Gethsemane" to do it.

Once assured of his duty Kirby was not the man to shirk it. In July 1882 he delivered three lectures on the subject in the Pirie Street Methodist Schoolroom, Adelaide. He secured the countenance of three of the most prominent of South Australian citizens when he induced the Hon. John Colton, the Hon. David Murray and Charles H. Goode to preside at these meetings. Colton had been Premier of South Australia, and was destined to be Premier again: he was a leading business man as well as a somewhat reluctant politician, and he was a warm friend of secondary education, as the Colton Wing of Prince Alfred College, Adelaide, sufficiently commemorates. He was knighted in 1892. Murray was another of Adelaide's merchant princes and one of the founders of the great firm of D. & W. Murray. Goode was a leading Baptist and a munificent giver to all kinds of philanthropic and religious work: he also received the honour of knighthood, and well deserved it. Lectures so influentially supported naturally attracted a great deal of public attention, and a lively controversy ensued.

The most important result of the lectures was the establishment of "The Social Purity Society of South Australia" in the following month. Kirby agreed to become the Honorary Secretary. He "stumped" the colony on its behalf and made a great impression wherever he went. The Anglican and Roman Catholic bishops identified themselves with the movement: indeed, all the churches swung into line. The Adelaide City Council, with many other corporations and district councils, passed strong resolutions on the subject: a flood of petitions and protests from all parts of the colony well-nigh submerged the local Legislature. The women, led by Mrs Colton (afterwards Lady Colton) and Miss Hannah Chewings, were not behind in the struggle for the personal rights of their sex. The work of the "Social Purity Society" grew to such an extent that it became necessary to engage an assistant secretary in the person of Miles Moorhouse, a member of the Port Adelaide "Young Men's Society" and subsequently a Congregational minister. The agitation was largely financed by the generosity of the Hon. John Howard Angas, a worthy inheritor of perhaps the greatest of South Australian names. Most remarkable was the conversion of Derrington, who not only abandoned his hankerings after the French system, but became one of its most determined opponents: he ultimately became joint-secretary with Kirby of "The Social Purity Society."

The newspapers of the period indicate that the idea of "State regulation" was never seriously entertained, though Kirby evidently thought it was a real peril. But he agreed with his newspaper critics that a merely

negative attitude to "the social evil" was not sufficient: under his inspiration a petition was addressed to the Legislature embodying a long schedule of proposals for the better protection of young women and girls. In 1884 the Hon. John Colton became once again State Premier, with the Hon. Charles Cameron Kingston as Attorney General. A measure on the lines of Kirby's schedule was carried with the approval of almost every member of both Houses of the Legislature: one member only of the Lower House broke the unanimity with a diatribe against Kirby and his friends which filled four columns of the newspaper. The new Act improved the position of young women and girls in no less than thirty particulars. The Act was really Kirby's work, though Kingston helped greatly in the drafting of it. Kirby in turn acknowledges indebtedness to Benjamin Scott, Chamberlain of the City of London, and a zealous Congregationalist, who, as an intimate associate of Josephine Butler and William T. Stead, was well qualified to make suggestions. Of Scott we shall hear more in the next chapter.

Kingston was evidently impressed by Kirby's practical ability, for he invited him to make further suggestions for the improvement of the law, as and when improvements seemed desirable. He was an advanced social reformer and also a great protagonist of Australian Federation. In 1893 he became State Premier, and so continued till 1899, which is the longest Premiership in the history of South Australia. Kirby urged on Kingston the desirability of altering the law in affiliation cases. His object was to make it possible for paternity to be proved *before* the birth of an illegitimate child, so

that the putative father might be made liable for medical and other expenses in connection with the child's birth as well as for subsequent maintenance. An Act with this in view was passed in 1898. Further legislation in 1900, 1903 and 1909 has further strengthened the law of South Australia in connection with "illegitimacy."

Other results of the Social Purity Movement can only be briefly tabulated. In 1899 the "age of consent" was raised to sixteen, while in 1916 a strong law was passed against "souteneurs"—those hateful creatures who live on the proceeds of prostitution ("Suppression of Brothels" Act). In all these agitations and discussions Kirby was much to the fore. The present writer can testify that his knowledge of this intricate and highly controversial subject was amazing.

The agitation in South Australia had important repercussions in other colonies. Among Kirby's numerous correspondents was Charles Cowper, Sheriff of New South Wales. There a Bill was carried to raise the "age of consent" from twelve to fourteen years: evidently there was need of reform here. At a later date Kirby lectured in Sydney on the Social Purity issue: Mr Justice Windeyer took the chair, and a strong Social Purity Society was formed in New South Wales. One result of this was the passing of an Act on the lines of the South Australian measure already described. Still later Kirby carried the crusade to Melbourne, where he lectured to a great audience of leading women, and set on foot another successful agitation. His endeavours extended even to distant Queensland, where his friend, Sir Samuel Walker Griffith, was Premier from 1883 to 1888. Griffith subsequently became Chief Justice of

Queensland and the first Chief Justice of the Commonwealth of Australia. He passed a strong Act on lines suggested by Kirby. Similar measures were passed in Tasmania and New Zealand, and another in Western Australia, though with this last Kirby had personally no concern. The Honorary Secretary of the Adelaide Society had certainly good reason to be proud of the results of his work. One incidental result of the campaign was to bring Kirby into close touch with Mrs (afterwards Lady) Colton, whose social position, intellectual ability and burning zeal had largely contributed to its success.

Out of the "Social Purity" agitation grew the great campaign for Women's Suffrage. It seemed monstrous that, in matters with which women were so intimately and vitally concerned, they should have no power to turn their voices into votes. Kirby early became convinced that the conferment of the franchise on women was not only a measure of pure justice, but also a measure likely to further the humanitarian causes he had so much at heart. The matter was brought to the front by a resolution moved in the State Parliament by Dr Edward Charles Stirling (afterwards Professor Sir E. C. Stirling). Kirby made a thorough study of the position of the Women's Suffrage agitation in Great Britain and the United States. He followed up Stirling's motion by calling a meeting to form a Women's Suffrage League. The personnel of the League was largely identical with that of the Social Purity organization. Stirling became president, while Mrs Mary Lee and Hector M'Lennan (one of Port Adelaide deacons) were joint-secretaries. Mrs (Lady) Colton and Miss Hannah

Chewings, who had helped so much in the former agitation, were also to the front in this one. The financial burden was largely borne by Charles Birks, the founder of one of Adelaide's largest drapery houses, and a good Congregationalist. The *Adelaide Register* lent its support to the cause. The League executive was not always "a happy family": after a time Kirby ceased to attend its meetings. But he zealously supported the cause by voice and pen. In October 1889 he presented a memorial from the League to the South Australian Congregational Union, and enlisted the support of that body. His finest contribution was a sermon on "Woman, a Queen Regnant," which he preached in various places and was enabled to issue broadcast in pamphlet form. He began by arguing, rather ingeniously, that in Genesis i. 26-28 dominion over God's inferior creatures was given to man and woman jointly: woman, equally with man, was designed by the Creator to be a sovereign. If man was created in the image of God, endowed with reason, conscience and will, the same is equally true of woman. He claimed that the denial of the suffrage was a repudiation of the ideal order set forth in Holy Scripture. He dealt with much ability with the Pauline passages that seemed to tell in favour of the subjection of women, pointing out that St Paul is referring to wives in their marital relations, not to women in general in their ordinary relations with men. He argued that, if the husband stands to the wife as Christ to the Church, he must needs seek her elevation to be like himself. In any case, the submission due from a wife as a wife is no more valid reason for denying her the political franchise

than would be the case with anyone else who occupied a subordinate contractual position. The subjection of women was an issue, not of creation, but of the Fall: it is not God's purpose, but man's folly, which has deprived women of her rightful status as a queen-regnant. The whole argument is worth perusal as an example of Kirby's logic and lucidity, touched throughout with a generous passion.

Kirby and his friends did not labour in vain. In December 1894 Women's Suffrage was inscribed on the statute-book. By this law women were given the franchise on equal terms with men, and incidentally the right to sit in the State Parliament. During the preceding ten years various measures of a more restricted character were brought forward with varying degrees of acceptance: it was fortunate that the measure actually adopted was the most liberal of all. South Australia was the first of the Australian communities to grant votes to women: New Zealand anticipated South Australia by one year. The other Australian communities followed, Victoria being the last to yield. When the question of Federation became urgent South Australia insisted that Women's Suffrage should be retained in the new Federal sphere, with the result that this reform became universally adopted throughout the States. It is with pardonable pride that Kirby records that his wife was the first woman to vote at Port Adelaide in the contested election following on the new law.

Kirby's zeal for the rights of women remained unabated, even after his retirement from Port Adelaide. In June 1914 an article in the *Nineteenth Century*

review, by Maud, Lady Darwin, made him acquainted with the new institution of women police, which had just come into vogue at Los Angeles, California. Kirby at once initiated a vigorous agitation, being convinced that women police would be of valuable assistance in dealing with some of the most difficult of our social and street problems. Many converts were won to the cause. An influential deputation waited on the Hon. A. W. Styles, then Chief Secretary, and made a strong appeal. Kirby spoke for the Adelaide Social Service Bureau, while representatives were present from all the chief non-episcopal denominations, the Salvation Army, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Temperance Alliance, the Women's Non-Party Association, and other bodies. In 1916 the fruit of all these efforts was seen in an executive regulation establishing women police—an innovation which has amply justified itself during the past ten years and has now become a recognized and permanent institution.

In no branch of social reform was Kirby more assiduously active than in the promotion of Temperance, alike through personal appeal and through legislation. He found that liquor produced the same crop of evils in South Australia as in Queensland, New South Wales, and indeed in every part of the world. From the year when the colony was founded (1836) liquor licences had been granted: as far back as 1839 the first Liquor Act was passed. The beginning of organized Temperance work goes back to the same date. In 1865 an Act was passed which placed the issue of new licences under the control of the people. In the Legislature elected in

1875 a real temperance stalwart appeared in David Nock, member for the district of Light. Nock was an ardent Methodist. He carried a measure, known as "Nock's Act," which had the effect of partially closing the public-houses on Sunday, and included also the principle of local option (1877). Nock has been called "the father of local option in South Australia." But there were still many abuses and an urgent need for tightening up the licensing laws. In South Australia, as elsewhere, "the Trade" is a powerful vested interest—all the more so because South Australia is a vine-growing country and boasts much the largest wine industry in Australia. This vested interest had, and unhappily still has, strong ramifications in political circles (without respect of party), and even in religious circles. Yet there were devoted and self-sacrificing men and women in South Australia determined that the State should control "the Trade" rather than that "the Trade" should control the State.

Kirby's work being chiefly in a seaport, he had plenty of evidence of the appalling results of alcoholic excess. His heart burned within him as he witnessed the ravages of this licensed iniquity. In 1884 he joined with others in establishing the South Australia "Temperance Alliance," now known as the "Prohibition League." David Nock was the first President, and remained on the Executive till his death in 1909. Kirby was closely associated with Nock and had a great respect for that old-fashioned Methodist saint. In 1886 the Adelaide branch of the "Women's Christian Temperance Union" was formed, while two years later the "W.C.T.U." became an organization covering the

whole colony. The Hon. John Howard Angas, already referred to in other connections, was a generous supporter, as was also his sister, Mrs Johnston. Kirby mentions that Angas was wont to give a tenth of his large income to philanthropic and religious causes, which some people said was a "Jewish" method, but which Kirby commended as an example worthy of all imitation. Another crusader was the Rev. John M'Ewin, minister of the beautiful Congregational Church at Hindmarsh, who was also editor of *The Christian Colonist*, to which paper Kirby was a great contributor. It fell to Kirby's lot to preach the sermon on the occasion of M'Ewin's funeral, and to pay appropriate tribute to the memory of another Christian reformer in the person of his friend.

In 1891 the fruits of all this agitation began to appear. After several abortive attempts a new Local Option Act was placed on the statute-book, which made it possible, on a petition of a certain proportion of the electorate, to take a poll with a view to the reduction of licences in any given area by one-third, nor were any new licences to be granted without the assent of the local people. Compensation was allowed for licences which might be extinguished under this Act, but a time-limit of fifteen years was inserted, after the expiry of which no compensation would be payable. As soon as the time-limit was expired polls were taken in six districts. The polls of 1906 were followed by polls in 1910, when twenty-four districts were involved. Kirby and others in the latter year led a successful campaign for reduction in Port Adelaide. In this seaport of thirty-five thousand inhabitants (the population has

increased tenfold since Kirby's settlement in 1880) there are now only about thirty licensed houses and very few wine licences, though even these are all too many. Kirby's campaign extinguished no less than fifteen full licences, as well as a number of wine licences. On the whole the results of the polls have not fulfilled the hopes of reformers, but another series of polls is due to take place early in 1927, and a strong "reduction" campaign is even now in progress.

The next struggle was over Sunday Closing, which had been only partially brought about by the "Nock Act" already referred to. Sunday drinking produced, in South Australia as elsewhere, a crop of evils to which no decent citizen could be blind. Kirby was to the fore in agitating for reform in this direction also. In 1896 an Act was passed which closed the public-houses altogether on Sundays, but left a loophole for abuse by extending a concession to the "bona-fide traveller." Kirby and his friends soon discovered that the "bona-fide traveller" is in most cases a "mala-fide" humbug: in 1910 the pernicious concession was swept away. Would that Kirby were here to lend his powerful aid in the present struggle for the Saturday noon closing of liquor-bars. Saturday afternoon closing is the logical issue of Sunday closing, and its results, moral and economic, are certain to be equally beneficial: if Sunday drinking was a fearful curse, Saturday afternoon drinking is not less so.

In 1908 a "Consolidating Liquor Act" was passed, which brought about two important little reforms. The first was the progressive abolition of barmaids, a thing for which Kirby had most strenuously contended,

and in connection with which he owed much to the noble help of the "Women's Christian Temperance Union." Public opinion became convinced that the bar was no place for a young girl, or indeed for women at all. It was well known that the whole environment was a strain on the virtue of any woman employee: for many a girl the bar has been a short cut to the gutter. The Act provided for the progressive abolition of barmaids by forbidding any future engagements of such: women already so employed were suffered to continue. As a result barmaids are now practically an extinct race in South Australia. Similar measures have also been passed in Victoria and in New Zealand. Incidentally it may be observed that, if women have vanished from behind the bar, they are now rarely seen in front of it: in this respect Australian public opinion is happily in advance of that in the Homeland.

The second reform that came about through the Act of 1908 was the closing of liquor-bars on Good Friday and (partially) on Christmas Day. In this agitation Kirby had the unusual, but all the more pleasant, experience of receiving the support of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, which is generally lukewarm—to say the least—in connection with Temperance Reform.

Another scandal which Kirby was anxious to stop was the presence of children and young people in the unseemly environment of the liquor-bar. In his early days in South Australia he witnessed the painful spectacle of troops of children being sent to the drink-shops to fetch and carry the family beer. In the hospitable columns of *The Christian Colonist* Kirby thundered against this abuse, and was strongly supported by the

“Temperance Alliance.” A law was passed forbidding the sale of intoxicants to children under fourteen, while in 1917 a still more drastic Act forbade the presence in liquor-bars of young people under sixteen years, and the sale of liquor to any person not of the full age of twenty-one.

It is, however, with “Six o’Clock Closing” that the name of Kirby will ever be most closely associated by the generality of South Australians. The idea of this reform was born in prayer: to him the cause was from the beginning God’s cause. Under the impulse of a strong “concern,” as our Quaker friends would say, he drew up a petition to Parliament for a referendum on the subject of the earlier closing of liquor-bars. The Women’s Christian Temperance Union helped in canvassing for signatures. The petition was duly presented to the Legislature, only to be received with scorn and derision. But the laughter of the liquor party turned to alarm when it became evident that public opinion was being really stirred by Kirby’s bold challenge. All the non-episcopal churches supported the petition: even the Anglican Church, while not prepared to advocate such a drastic reduction of hours as Kirby wanted, was definitely in favour of earlier closing. Both the Women’s Christian Temperance Union and the South Australian Temperance Alliance did splendid service in the struggle that ensued. But the brunt of the battle in the Press and on the Platform was borne by Kirby. Major (now Colonel) T. H. Smeaton exerted himself nobly in the House of Assembly—a place where Temperance advocacy is never an easy or a popular “line.” The first petition for a referendum

was followed by others. At last, in 1914, the necessary "enabling resolution" passed the Legislature. The campaign that followed was terrific. Kirby surpassed himself in the vigour of his exertions and in the passion of his pleading. A mighty demonstration took place in the Botanic Park, Adelaide, on March 16, 1915: Kirby was the chief orator. When the resolution was put, "Hands up for Six o'Clock," the forest of hands looked most impressive. Behind the outstretched hands were determined hearts. It was in vain that all the powers of Satan were mobilized against the reformers. On March 27, 1915, the poll was taken: to the astonishment of many people "Six o'Clock" was victorious by 100,418 votes out of 176,537. Many "moderate drinkers" undoubtedly cast in their lot with the much-abused "wowsers": probably the Great War, with its revelations of the depredations and degradations of the liquor traffic, helped to move public opinion. On March 27, 1916, the new law came into operation. It is now ten years since that date, and it is safe to say that a new referendum on the same subject would yield an even more overwhelming result. South Australia will never go back on "Six o'Clock."

On the night when the new law came into operation a monster demonstration was held in the Exhibition Building, at which the victory was fittingly celebrated. The heroes of the struggle—the Rev. J. C. Kirby and Major Smeaton, M.P.—were each presented with a framed memento of the "Hands up for Six o'Clock" meeting above referred to. Other noble workers might well have claimed a share in the honours of that evening, notably Lady Holder, Commonwealth President of the

Women's Christian Temperance Union, Mrs E. W. Nicholls, J.P., State President of the same organization, and Miss George, the energetic and skilful State Secretary. But all would agree that Kirby was the greatest hero of that famous fight.

As in the case of the Social Purity Campaign, the victory of Six o'Clock Closing had repercussions elsewhere. Kirby stirred up the Women's Christian Temperance Union in Victoria, and started a lively agitation there. The Victorian crusade was even more successful than that in South Australia, for not only was six o'clock closing secured, but it was also enacted that liquor-bars should not be open before 9 a.m. New South Wales and New Zealand followed Victoria and South Australia in enacting six o'clock closing. At the present time Queensland is the one inglorious exception to the rule in all the other States. Experience has amply proved the wisdom and advantage of this or any other measure which will restrict in any way the ravages of the liquor traffic. At the present time an agitation is on foot to secure the closing of liquor-bars at midday on Saturdays: since 1915 the liquor people have been terribly afraid of any more referendums, and are using all kinds of influence, legitimate and illegitimate, to prevent the granting of such opportunities for public opinion to express itself. Among the cloud of witnesses who compass those engaged in the present struggle we may surely count the bright spirit of the warrior we here commemorate.

The South Australian Temperance Alliance had been founded as already described: it has recently been rechristened the South Australian Prohibition League.

With the work of the Alliance Kirby was intimately associated: it rendered valuable service in promoting all the reforms to which allusion has been made. It is fair to say that the influence of the powerful Methodist denomination has also been an important factor in Temperance progress in South Australia. The editor of the *Christian Commonwealth*, the widely-circulated Methodist magazine, was then the Rev. Octavius Lake: he invited Kirby to contribute a series of articles, which had a great effect in crystallizing Methodist opinion on the subject. The *Christian Commonwealth* steadily supported the six o'clock closing agitation, and its articles and editorials had no small propaganda value.

Kirby had already come to the conclusion that the time was ripe for straight-out Prohibition—a conclusion in which most temperance workers were beginning to share. He certainly had little in common with the (more or less mythical) temperance reformer who insists on Prohibition or nothing at all: we have seen how he worked even for minor reforms. But he believed that Prohibition was the true goal of the movement, and saw no reason why the Prohibition objective should not be avowed. At a great inter-state conference of temperance workers, held in the Willard Hall, Adelaide, in March 1914, Kirby moved the resolution committing the meeting to Prohibition: it was seconded by James Delahanty, the energetic secretary of the South Australian Alliance, and carried without opposition. On this occasion the Mayor and Council of the Adelaide Corporation showed their concern for the liquor interest by refusing any civic reception in connection with the Conference. Another inter-state Conference was held

in 1923 : on this occasion the civic hospitality was duly forthcoming, which Kirby noted as a straw indicating the way in which public opinion was tending. Kirby's prayer that he might live to see the day of Prohibition was not granted, but temperance workers may well remember him as not the least among the "great cloud of witnesses" who will rejoice with them in the hour of final triumph. And to that triumph his own life and work will have made no small contribution : through long years of struggle he at least never doubted "right would triumph, clouds would break."

Kirby's zeal for social purity and temperance reform was shared by many of his brethren in the ministry : it has indeed come to be acknowledged that the Church ought to speak with no uncertain voice on issues that have such an obvious and intimate bearing on the living of a good life. But Kirby refused to limit his interest to them : wherever a wrong needed to be righted or an evil cried aloud for remedy Kirby was ready to gird on his armour and go forth to the fray. As John Clifford became the embodiment of the Nonconformist conscience in England, so Kirby became its embodiment in Australia. No sooner was one crusade brought to a victorious conclusion than he entered on another : indeed, he was often engaged in several crusades at the same time. His conception of the scope of his ministry became enlarged with the passing of the years : at an age when most people are looking for rest he was embarking on new ventures and starting fresh agitations. Retirement from the active ministry made no difference to the vigour and variety of his public activities : almost every week he was writing to the Press to denounce

some abuse or to urge some reform : there was scarcely a meeting of the Congregational Union, or even of the Ministers' Fraternal, at which he failed to call his brethren to some daring and difficult enterprise. Though he had more than fulfilled the normal limit of man's allotted span, his mind was still seething with new ideas and catching new visions of what the churches ought to do for the winning of the unconverted, the nurture of the young, and the promotion of social justice.

One valuable reform which Kirby did much to make possible was a limitation of the right of bequest—a right often exercised in the way of a wrong. Various cases came to Kirby's notice in which widows and orphans were left penniless as a result of palpable injustice on the part of testators. There was a man of considerable property in Port Adelaide who took to drink and refused to maintain his wife and children. Here, however, the law intervened : the delinquent was compelled to pay a weekly sum by way of alimony. But on his decease it was found that he had left all his money to a publican, the widow and orphans being left without any provision whatever. Nothing could be done : as the law then stood the discretion of the testator was uncontrolled. Another case was that of a respectable widow in Kirby's congregation who married a sea captain. The captain was a regular attender at church, but Kirby sadly observed that in his case little good seemed to result from his attendance : he was addicted to liquor and was notorious in Port Adelaide as a profane swearer. Happily he came under the influence of the Salvation Army and was truly converted : he gave up

the drink and became the regular flag-bearer at the open-air meetings of the local Salvationists. His last illness was long and painful: his wife lovingly nursed him till he died. Now this woman had had a certain amount of property of her own: on her marriage she transferred this property to her new husband and thus helped him to establish himself financially. But, in drawing his will, the foolish man left all his money to his children and nothing at all to his wife: the wife became dependent on her children's charity. The poor woman felt her position acutely: it seemed to her, and it seemed to Kirby, that she should at least have been entitled to the reversion of what was really her own money. Her practical disinherittance proved in the end a mortal blow: she died of grief and vexation. Yet a third case is cited by Kirby as arising in his own congregation. There was an old man, over seventy years of age, who lived on a farm. Two elderly daughters shared his home, worked on the farm and helped with the cows. The old man became acquainted with a young girl and married her. Soon afterwards he died, leaving all his property to the girl-wife and nothing at all to the daughters who had toiled and moiled for him all their lives. Kirby resolved to put an end to such wrongs as these. As early as 1895 he stirred the South Australian Congregational Union on the subject. He studied the complexities of the law in regard to testamentary dispositions and found that a Bill had been introduced in the House of Commons to meet the cases he had in mind. This Bill had never become law, but it served as a basis for a measure which Kirby drafted and brought to the notice of

W. H. Carpenter, M.P. Carpenter carried it several times in the Assembly, but the Legislative Council—ever sensitive for “the rights of property”—threw it out. Finally the matter was taken up by W. O. Archibald, M.P.: the Testator’s Family Maintenance Act at last became law (1918). It provided that widows and children under age, and children of any age who are wholly or partially unable to maintain themselves, may, if disinherited by will, appeal to the Supreme Court, which has power to direct that a reasonable proportion of the estate shall be set apart for their benefit. The mere existence of this law has had the effect of making the need for its application extremely rare.

During his Sydney ministry Kirby had been the Congregational chaplain at the Darlinghurst gaol: his duties were almost nominal, for it is a rare thing for Congregationalists to go to gaol either in England or in Australia. But Kirby’s experience at Darlinghurst had the effect of interesting him in criminal law and administration: he became a keen advocate of Prison Reform. In 1907 he brought the matter before the South Australian Congregational Union. When New Zealand adopted the “probation” system Kirby obtained a copy of the Act and urged that a similar measure should be passed in South Australia. Through the good offices of the Hon. Maurice Salom an Act was passed, but proved largely abortive. Another and more adequate measure was carried in 1913, thanks largely to the energetic advocacy of the Rev. John Pearce, a Methodist minister who has fought many a battle for prison reform in South Australia. Even this measure was not as effectual as reformers desired: it is one

thing to pass a law of this kind and another thing to induce judges, magistrates and prison officials to put it into full operation. This was so apparent to the South Australian reformers that an indignation meeting was held in Pirie Street Methodist Church, at which a branch of the Howard Association was established. Kirby was an untiring advocate of the probation system: he was well aware that prison is the very worst place to which a young offender can be sent. He did not live to see the realization of his ideals in this connection: since his death the system has been extended, though the administration of it is still a subject of acute public controversy.

Kirby's zeal for prison reform was greatly stimulated by a visit paid in 1911 to Sydney, when he had an opportunity of making an inspection of the reorganized Women's Penitentiary at Long Bay, on the outskirts of that city. Accompanied by his friend, the Rev. John Beckenham, and armed with an order from the Comptroller of Prisons, he saw everything, and was delighted with what he saw. The New South Wales Government, inspired by the personality and genius of one Captain Neitenstein, had resolved to bring its prison system as near to perfection as possible, and not to spare expense. Great changes were effected: no less than twenty-three gaols were closed: the conditions were improved alike for the prison staff and for the prisoners themselves: in five years a *saving* was effected of no less than £40,000 a year. Long Bay Women's Penitentiary was a new structure: the cells were light and cheerful: everything possible was being done to restore the women to self-respect and hope. Kirby departed with the con-

viction that New South Wales, at one time associated with what was probably the worst penal system ever devised, was now leading the world in its endeavours to make its prisons reformatory rather than merely punitive institutions. Of all prisoners women prisoners probably suffered most under the abuses of the old system: it was therefore all the more gratifying to know that for them a better day had dawned.

The problem of the delinquent is everywhere closely associated with the problem of the feeble-minded. Here Kirby became convinced that a vast amount of moral and mental degeneracy is due to unfavourable pre-natal conditions: multitudes of poor children are not so much born into the world as damned into it. A book by Robert Reid Rentoul, M.D., entitled *Race Culture or Race Suicide* (Walter Scott Publishing Company), attracted Kirby's attention about 1907: he began to read extensively the literature of the new science of Eugenics. That the mere fact of birth is so often a curse instead of a blessing—that many children are born to predestined and absolutely inescapable misery—afflicted Kirby like a nightmare. That feeble-minded persons should be permitted to increase and multiply—that persons newly discharged from lunatic asylums should be allowed to resume unhindered sexual relations—seemed to him little short of being itself insanity. He was especially indignant that feeble-minded offenders—and very many offenders *are* feeble-minded—should be sentenced to pains and penalties which are in themselves unjust and which could have no possible beneficial effect. He roundly avowed that jurymen, lawyers and magistrates responsible for sending

such people to prison ought rather to be sent to prison themselves. These delinquents require medical rather than punitive treatment: they should come within the sphere of the psycho-analyst rather than that of the penologist. Kirby pleaded earnestly for the segregation of these unfortunate people, both for their own sakes and for the sake of society, but at the same time pointed out that such segregation should involve no more taint of disgrace than the temporary segregation which is everywhere enforced on sufferers from infectious disease. The object of segregation in the case of the feeble-minded is partly curative, but Kirby contended that the chief end should be the prevention of parentage. Alternatively, the reproductive powers of the feeble-minded might be eliminated by a simple operation, preferably performed in childhood: this latter method has the advantage of being far less expensive than the former, though likely to excite more opposition from an uninstructed public opinion. Kirby was especially courageous in advocating "vasectomy" as the only effectual method of dealing with those sexual perverts whose delinquencies excite such tremendous, but often misguided, public indignation. Neither flogging nor imprisonment can cure these people: only the surgeon can do it. Their derangement is not really a moral derangement, but rather a physiological and psychological derangement: instead of being indicted as the worst of criminals, they should be pitied and treated as the most tragic of unfortunates. Such at least was the contention which Kirby never wearied of urging on the public of Australia.

Feeble-mindedness is of course a relative term, but

it is reasonably certain that its incidence is very closely associated with the phenomena of heredity. In the previous chapter we noted Kirby's advocacy of evolutionary principles, based as it was on a close study of Darwin's great classic. But Kirby's further reading, especially his researches into Mendelism, convinced him that Darwinism in its original form overrated the factor of environment and underrated the factor of heredity. He was wont to say, with picturesque vigour of language, that "half the people born into the world are living monuments of the folly of their parents." His visit to India in 1891 had aroused him to the disastrous social consequences that might flow from dysgenic marriages. At Benares he was taken to see a vast ruin called Buddha's Tope: on the way he observed a number of little girls, each carrying a baby. He remarked that he had never seen so many nurse-girls out together, whereupon the missionary's wife accompanying him explained that these were not nurse-girls but mothers with their own babies. Involuntarily Kirby exclaimed, "God help India!" Associated with this incident was another of which he heard while in Bombay. A Hindu asked a British officer, "How is it that we are so many and you so few, yet you rule and we obey?" to which the answer came, "My father was a man, and my mother was a woman: your father was a child, and your mother was a child: that is why these things are so."

Kirby's interest in Eugenics became almost a passion. His convictions were, if possible, strengthened at the very end of his life, when the American War Secretariat published the extraordinary statistics regarding the physical and mental conditions of the men drafted for

war service in the United States. It became clear that more than half the population can be described as sub-normal, both physically and mentally, nor is there any reason to think that conditions are better in England and in Australia than in the United States of America. To any believer in democratic institutions such statistics must be food for anxious thought. Kirby's last years were largely occupied with calling public attention to these disquieting facts and urging the need for a fuller recognition and application of eugenic principles. The candour and courage with which he faced the delicate problems of sex and marriage must surely be counted to him for righteousness: there is no sphere in which there is more need for thinking out the significance of the Christian ethic and its application to the problems of individual and social life.

A Christian philanthropist could hardly live in Australia without taking some thought for the welfare of the aboriginal inhabitants, but it was not until after Kirby's retirement from the ministry that he became a propagandist on this subject. The article in the *Contemporary Review* which led him to take an interest in the campaign for the betterment of native conditions in Fiji (see pages 265-267) also quickened his sense of responsibility for the welfare of the aborigines of the Australian Continent. He collected extensive memoranda and, towards the end of his life, wrote many letters and articles calling public attention to the claims of the aborigines on the consideration of the Australian public. The coming of the white settlers had not only dispossessed the blacks of the wide lands in which they had for untold centuries been accustomed to wander:

it had produced an entire disintegration of their social life and traditional habits. The treatment of the blacks in the early days of colonization in New South Wales, and above all in Tasmania, is indeed one of the most depressing and disgraceful chapters in the history of white colonization. The Tasmanian natives—a race extraordinarily low in cultural development, but on this very account of intense interest to the anthropologist—were pitilessly exterminated, and the same fate, or something like it, awaited many of the tribes on the mainland. The checking of these brutalities was largely due to the courage and resolution of John Hubert Plunkett, Q.C. (1802-1869), who on one occasion had seven white men strung up in a row for murdering black fellows. In this salutary way the white settlers learned that the blacks still possessed the rights of human beings and were under the protection of British law. Kirby well remembered the sensation that had been caused in Sydney by Plunkett's bold vindication of the Queen's justice. But though actual brutality and murder, except in a few "way-back" places, was now rare, the black people continued to dwindle. Contact with the whites brought with it the scourge of alcoholism, and the no less deadly scourge of venereal disease. In any case, it is doubtful whether the Australian aboriginal can survive under the conditions of Western civilization : he is a child of the wild, and such he will remain till the not distant end of his chapter. At the present time most of the aborigines remaining within the pale of settlement are sustained with food, tobacco and blankets at the public expense : a few mission stations have been established where efforts are made to educate and

evangelize these, the least of our brethren. Even so, the situation of the Australian aboriginals contrasts very unfavourably with that of the American Indians under the administration of the United States, though it is fair to add that the aboriginal constitutes a more difficult problem than the Indian.

Kirby was strongly of opinion that steps should be taken to secure the definite reservation for the use of the aboriginals of some large tract of the continent which had once been all their own : he suggested Arnhem Land as a suitable area for such an experiment. Within this area no white people should be allowed to go, except authorized missionaries, doctors, teachers and officials. He did not contemplate the compulsory segregation of the entire surviving black population, which would be an impracticable as well as an inhuman policy, but he held that, without some such measure as this, the early disappearance of the entire race was inevitable, as indeed is probably the case. In addition to this, he suggested that every State should make more serious efforts to promote the interests of the aboriginals, and particularly the development in them of habits of industry along appropriate lines : they should be taught methods of agriculture, and might, if rightly directed, be useful in such ways as cotton-growing and sugar cultivation. Whether such developments as these latter are really possible in the case of people like the aboriginals may be doubtful : they seem to have a rooted and unconquerable distaste for continuous effort of any kind. But it is interesting to observe that at the present time there is a considerable agitation on foot for the setting up of those aboriginal "reservations" for which Kirby

so earnestly pleaded in the years immediately preceding his death. He may fairly claim to have done not a little to quicken the conscience of the Christian public of Australia on the question of our responsibility for the welfare of those we have dispossessed and all too often wronged. Kirby at least had no doubt that for apathy, no less than for brutality, we are liable to impeachment at the bar of God.

Another and a more pleasing subject attracted Kirby's attention in his declining years, and incidentally illustrates the extraordinary way in which he was receptive of new ideas at a time in life when most people have become distinctly conservative. A report by Edmond Holmes, the distinguished educationalist who at that time was a chief official in the Board of Education in London, drew him to the study of the Montessori method of child-culture. He read all the voluminous writings of Madame Montessori, and came to regard her less as an educationalist than as an inspired prophetess. It was not in Kirby's nature to become a convert without becoming a propagandist: he believed that the Montessori method was as adapted to the needs of religious education in the Sunday School and elsewhere as it was to the teaching of what are called "secular" subjects. In season and out of season he pleaded with his brethren to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the new revelation, and to apply the Montessori method in the training of the young life so largely committed to the care of the churches. He made a special journey to Sydney for the purpose of seeing the method in actual operation. The New South Wales Government had established an experimental

Montessori school in Blackfriars, a suburb of Sydney, and placed it under the charge of Miss M. M. Simpson, who had herself been a pupil of Maria Montessori in Rome. She is now Senior Woman Inspector in the Education Department of New South Wales. Kirby was much impressed by Miss Simpson's enthusiasm, and still more impressed by what he saw of the school. Returning to South Australia, he gave a lecture at Clayton Congregational Church, which resulted in the establishment of a Montessori school on the Church premises—a school which is still doing a flourishing work. He addressed the Women's Christian Temperance Union on the same subject. Not content with printing and circulating a thousand copies of the lecture, he wrote no end of letters for the religious and secular Press. Largely through his efforts, the Education Department in South Australia became interested in Montessori: the Department sent one of its lady teachers, Miss Lydia Longmore, to Sydney to study under Miss Simpson: this lady, on her return, established several Montessori infant schools in Adelaide and suburbs. She is now Inspector in Infant Schools in South Australia, being the first woman to be appointed an inspector in South Australia. Sydney went further than Adelaide: the New South Wales Government started an advanced Montessori school at Brighton-on-Sea. Kirby was anxious that a similar move should be made in South Australia: he organized a deputation to the Minister of Education (Hon. G. Ritchie), but the official reply pleaded considerations of finance as an excuse for doing nothing. Kirby was more successful in his efforts to convert the Rev. Frank Pulsford, of Croydon, Sydney

—a worthy scion of the house of Pulsford whose death in the prime of his powers was a great loss to the cause alike of liberal evangelism and social reform. Pulsford became as ardent a devotee as Kirby himself: he established a Montessori school in connection with his church, and believed that in the Montessori method he had found the key to a new and better age. Principals of Theological Colleges, and anybody else whom Kirby could influence, were well-nigh “snowed under” with letters and pamphlets in which Kirby insisted on the supreme importance of child-culture from the standpoint of Christian evangelism, and on the necessity of adopting Montessori methods if all the possibilities of Christian education were to be fully exploited. He urged, with much force, that a knowledge of the principles of psychology and pædagogy is really more practically important to young ministers than some of the recognized subjects of a theological curriculum, and claimed that education in a theological college should fit ministers to meet the needs of the young child no less than the needs of the adult. He was equally energetic in drawing the attention of Sunday School workers to the religious possibilities of “Montessori”: he believed that it was possible, by this method, to lead even small children to form the habit of conscious communion with God. One may doubt whether the Italian educationalist has ever had a disciple so zealous as Kirby.

In concluding this chapter, the opinion may be ventured that no Congregational minister of his time exhibited such a wide interest in social problems or contributed more earnestly and ably to their solution.

It is indeed doubtful whether any minister of any denomination can surpass the work of Kirby in this connection. He is surely entitled to be counted with Hugh Price Hughes, John Clifford, Charles Silvester Horne, F. Herbert Stead and Charles Gore as a fearless and unceasing protagonist of social righteousness. How he found time for these multifarious labours, without neglecting his pastoral duties or his pulpit preparation, is a mystery which the present writer does not pretend to solve. When certain demagogues in Australia gird at the churches and their ministers for alleged indifference to the sorrows and wrongs of the masses, the remembrance of Kirby's work should at least cause them to pause. At the same time, the record we have sketched should be a rebuke and a challenge to those Christians, not unknown in Australia as elsewhere, who seem infected with that pseudo-spirituality which would make religion futile and ineffective because detached from the great issues of our social life.

God send us men, alert and quick
His lofty precepts to translate,
Until the laws of Christ become
The laws and habits of the State.

Chapter VIII

THE EXPERIENCES OF A TRAVELLER

(1891, 1903)

KIRBY was a great traveller : few men knew Australia as well as he. Almost every summer vacation was spent away from South Australia : he came to know the West as well as he knew Queensland. He was not the kind of person to spend a month in lazing on a sea-beach : he generally combined with his holiday an investigation into one or other of the many issues in which he was interested : wherever he went, he was ready to reprove, rebuke and exhort. In this chapter, however, we shall confine attention to his visits to England, India, Hawaii and the South Seas, where his experiences and observations seem to possess a special interest.

It was not till 1891 that Kirby found time and opportunity to revisit his native land. In that year was held the first of the series of International Congresses of the Congregational denomination. Kirby was asked by the South Australian Congregational Union to represent that body at the Congress, which was appointed to meet in London. The Union made a grant towards the expenses, which was generously supplemented by the Port Adelaide Church. One of the deacons at Port Adelaide, Henry Eames, was also appointed a delegate to the London meetings, and the two men travelled together. Eames, curiously enough, was, like Kirby, a native of Buckingham. The people at Port Adelaide gave the travellers a splendid send-off, nor were the activities of the church permitted to flag during the pastor's seven months of absence.

Other Australian delegates were also on board the R.M.S. *Ormuz*, the most notable being his old friend, the Rev. T. Roseby, M.A., LL.D., of Sydney. The only striking feature of the voyage was the appearance of a most beautiful mirage which lasted for hours. The vision suggested to Kirby's mind the river which makes glad the City of God : it was like a glimpse of Paradise. He was naturally sensitive to the sacred associations of Sinai's towering peak, and rejoiced to follow in the wake of St Paul on his last memorable voyage. Landing at Naples, Kirby and his fellow-delegates enjoyed a tour through Italy and Switzerland, down the Rhine to Cologne.

At Cologne Kirby witnessed a spectacle which made a profound impression on his mind and was destined to bear unexpected fruit in later days. The party reached Cologne on the eve of Ascension Day. Now, from time immemorial, Ascension Day has been observed as a "festa" in Cologne : all business and amusements are suspended, and the people give themselves up to a joyful religious observance of the sacred time. Every village in the district elects a "queen" from among the girls of the place : these chosen maidens, to the number of two thousand, assemble on the morning of the great day, clad in white and bearing wreaths of glorious roses : they are preceded and followed by bands of music. These are followed by two thousand proud mothers and two thousand equally proud fathers. Then are seen hundreds of white-robed choristers, while the rear is brought up by an army of clergy in full sacerdotal array, with the Archbishop of Cologne in their midst. Bands of music are skilfully distributed at intervals in the long

column. The march through the streets is marked by the singing of hymns, in which spectators as well as processionists heartily unite, led by the aforesaid bands. At last the whole body assembled in front of the great cathedral which is the pride of Cologne and the greatest glory of mediaeval architecture: the bands played and the multitude sang: it was a veritable intoxication of melodious adoration. Suddenly the chorus of song ceased: there was a silence in which might have been heard the dropping of the proverbial pin. Then the Archbishop said a brief prayer, to which the great congregation responded with a loud "Amen." He raised his hand, gave the solemn benediction, and all was over. Kirby and the seven other Australians present were profoundly touched: it was an experience which lingered with him to his dying day. He had never realized so vividly the power of sacred drama and sacred song: it seemed as though the whole city had been flooded with a divine inspiration.

From Cologne the party made their way to Brussels, not forgetting to pay a visit to the historic field of Waterloo. Their stay, however, was brief: all were eager to set their feet within the Homeland which even the second generation of Australian-born have not ceased to love. When Kirby reached London, it was after an absence of thirty-seven years: he had left it as a poor emigrant lad: he returned as an honoured and successful minister of the Gospel.

On arrival in London Kirby had no trouble in finding a temporary home: his wife's first cousin was the wife of the Rev. Samuel Fisher, secretary of Caterham School, in Surrey, a school which then and now is regarded as

one of the great educational institutions of the Congregational denomination. The home of the Fishers became Kirby's headquarters during his stay in England. On this occasion, however, his stay was exceedingly brief. The men of Buckingham did not linger in London: they hastened to visit their native town and revive in familiar surroundings the happy associations of far-off childhood. Kirby was like one that dreamed as he visited again the old haunts: like many another brave warrior, he was not ashamed of a certain almost feminine sentimentality: his emotions alternated between laughter and tears as he trod the streets of sleepy Buckingham and recalled the vanished scenes and departed saints of a generation gone before. An aunt, with whom he had maintained a continuous correspondence during his whole time in Australia, died at the ripe age of eighty-one a few weeks before his arrival in England. Another aunt, however, survived: the house and furniture were left undisturbed for the use and enjoyment of the returned wanderer from the Antipodes. Thus Kirby found a home waiting for his occupation: he was even able to offer hospitality to his travelling companion whose own relatives had all passed away.

Next to his own old home, the centre of interest for Kirby was naturally the ancient meeting-house. Here he discovered considerable alterations—alterations significant of the new era that had dawned for English Nonconformity. No longer was the sanctuary in a position of politic obscurity: the row of cottages in front of the building had been removed and access thereby facilitated. He was glad to discover that the cause was flourishing under the pastoral care of the Rev. C. T.

Price. On various occasions he was privileged to occupy the pulpit which in childhood days he had imagined reserved "for angels or their first cousins"! He lectured in the schoolroom on his experiences in Australia. Like most Australians, he was grieved and disgusted at the prevalence of class-distinctions in the Homeland: in eloquent terms he told the people of his native town of the mighty democracy that was coming to birth under the Southern Cross. But Kirby, though a radical, was far from being a revolutionary: he knew that social conditions are the products of history and that no changes can be really beneficent which are not the fruit of a process of education and persuasion. His never-ceasing passion for social improvement was accompanied by a deep sense of the necessity for "making haste slowly," especially in a country like England.

The International Congregational Council met on July 13, 1891, in the historic King's Weigh House Church, Grosvenor Square, London. The curious name of the church is reminiscent of its original proximity to the Customs House in the East End. The church had been associated with the great ministry of Dr Thomas Binney (1798-1874), whose oratorical fame has proved less enduring than his fame as the author of that noble hymn "Eternal Light." Dr Llewellyn D. Bevan (1842-1918), whom Kirby knew as the minister of Collins Street Independent Church, Melbourne, and later as the first Principal of Parkin College, Adelaide, had begun his ministry as assistant to Binney in the early sixties. The church has since acquired additional fame as the scene of the ministries of Dr John Hunter and Dr W. E. Orchard. The first meeting of the International Con-

gregational Council had been eagerly awaited and carefully planned. Three hundred delegates were appointed, the number being wisely restricted in order to facilitate free discussion. One-third came from the churches of the Homeland, one-third from the United States, while the remaining third were from the scattered communities of Congregationalists in the Colonies and elsewhere. The subjects for discussion covered an exceedingly wide range, and testified to the catholicity and comprehensiveness of the Congregational standpoint. It proved indeed "a feast of reason and a flow of soul." Kirby records that he was most impressed by the large vision and comprehensive statesmanship of Dr R. W. Dale, then passing into the glorious evening of his great day, and no less by the erudition and eloquence of Dr A. M. Fairbairn, then at the height of his majestic powers. The only "fly in the ointment" was that the officials of the English Union seemed to regard the ministerial members of the Australian delegation as hardly fit for any but insignificant preaching appointments. The Australians grumbled much in private, but Kirby went straight to headquarters and made loud his voice even within the dusty precincts of the Memorial Hall. After this, the ointment had no fly.

Kirby's stay in London enabled him to meet with many friends who shared in his various social enthusiasms. He found warm welcome from Josephine Butler and her circle, including Hugh Price Hughes and W. T. Stead. His visit coincided with that great (and possibly misguided) outburst of the Nonconformist conscience which sealed the political fate of Sir Charles Dilke, M.P. Dilke was unquestionably one of the ablest politicians

in the ranks of the Liberal Party : many thought that he was destined to become Prime Minister : incidentally, he was one of the few Liberals who believed intensely in the mission and destiny of the British Empire. Unhappily, he became involved as co-respondent in a notorious divorce suit : the question arose as to whether, under these circumstances, it was right or expedient that he should retain office in the Gladstone Government. The great body of Nonconformists, on whose votes the Government largely depended, answered the question with an uncompromising "No." A great meeting was held in the City Temple : Josephine Butler, Hugh Price Hughes and W. T. Stead were the principal speakers, but Kirby was asked to say a few words as representing the social reformers of Australia. The public gathering was preceded by a prayer-meeting. Kirby remarked on the extreme vehemence of Stead's supplications : it seemed to Kirby that Stead was not so much making supplications as giving instructions to a Deity Who might otherwise be inclined to unwarrantable leniency in the case of Sir Charles Dilke ! His speech at the public meeting was practically a challenge to Dilke to institute a prosecution for criminal libel. Hugh Price Hughes again demonstrated his powers as a master of polished vituperation, and made a considerable effect on the vast audience. But the honours of the evening were with Josephine Butler. The audience stood to receive her, and remained standing throughout her speech, which was a masterly and persuasive plea for the sex-rights of women and a powerful protest against the men who trampled thereon. Kirby wisely contented himself with only a few words,

but he never forgot that he had had this small part in the political funeral of Sir Charles Dilke. Dilke did not indeed withdraw from public life and the House of Commons, but the honours of office were never his. Whether this successful protest really tended to raise the standard of private morals among politicians is open to doubt: still more may it be doubted whether Dilke was really such a satanic character as the City Temple orators represented.

In our account of the Social Purity agitation in South Australia we have alluded to Kirby's correspondence with Benjamin Scott, Chamberlain of the City of London. He had then held office for more than thirty years, being responsible for the financial administration of a Corporation which has a revenue of about three million pounds a year. Kirby called at the Guildhall, and was privileged to see the Common Council in session and his friend all glorious in gilt and lace. Scott was a deacon at Allen Street Congregational Church, Kensington, then rejoicing in the brilliant ministry of Charles Silvester Horne. He invited Kirby to his home and showed him much courtesy. It was during this visit that Scott took Kirby for a drive through Epping Forest and told the story of how this great heritage had been saved for the use and enjoyment of the toilers of London: it is sufficiently interesting—at any rate to Londoners—to be worthy of transcription.

“In England the lord of the manor has many strange rights: one of them is the right to take and enclose any land within the bounds of the manor to which no one else can produce what is in the eye of the law a clear title. Scott was staying in the neighbourhood of the

Forest one week-end, and on the Sunday morning attended service at the Parish Church. The rector announced that the parties who enjoyed manorial rights over the Forest intended to make enclosures and that the ecclesiastical authorities, as participating in these rights, intended to do the same. Scott was amazed: he was under the impression that the City of London Corporation possessed certain ancient 'liberties' in the Forest which would make the proposed enclosure illegal. He hastened back to the City and consulted the Lord Mayor. The lawyers were set to work and discovered that the Corporation had a legal right to graze cattle in the spaces of the Forest—a right which, however, had been suffered to fall into desuetude. The right in question was now revived and enforced: all fences erected for purposes of enclosure were removed. Finally, Parliament stepped in and passed an Act which had the effect of preserving the Forest as a possession for the people in perpetuity. Queen Victoria officiated at the public opening of the Forest under the new order. Scott received the congratulations and thanks of good citizens in all parts of London."

Scott was a deeply religious man as well as a public-spirited municipalist. In early life he had vowed himself to the service of God. He had been caught in the tide of the Great Awakening of 1857 which, beginning in America, spread to Ulster. He built many places of worship in London, and strove earnestly to improve the miserable stipends then paid to many of the London ministers. During the American Civil War (1861-1865) Scott had the honour of entertaining Henry Ward Beecher on his famous mission to England. Feeling

in English aristocratic circles was strongly in favour of the South : even Gladstone once declared that " Jefferson Davis had created a nation." Beecher's task was to rally British opinion to the cause of the Union—a task as difficult as it was delicate. Even the Congregational ministers in London were inclined to be unresponsive : Beecher gained only a cold reception when he addressed them. On the following evening Beecher spoke at a great gathering in the old Exeter Hall : Scott was in the Chair. Beecher and Scott arrived at the meeting to find the place jammed with people : the police on duty had the utmost difficulty in getting them inside the building, while it seemed hopeless to expect to reach the platform. Finally, the men in the meeting had to pass both speaker and chairman over their heads from hand to hand : it was only in this unusual and undignified way that the orator and his host were able to reach their appointed places. Scott briefly introduced Beecher, who was received with more groaning than applause. But the American proved himself then, as on many other occasions, a master of assemblies. He reminded his audience that he too was of English blood by long descent, and that he inherited from his English forbears the love of freedom which was the noblest characteristic of their common stock. He dwelt on England's historic mission in the emancipation of the slave. The tact and eloquence of Beecher carried the meeting : ill-will gave place to good humour, and good humour to enthusiasm. The orator achieved a triumph which had important results in influencing British opinion and preventing the recognition of the Confederacy as a belligerent sovereign State. *The Times* and other newspapers gave

the utmost prominence to Beecher's address, which had a mighty effect on readers as well as hearers.

The foregoing extracts from Scott's reminiscences, as preserved by Kirby, will show that the two men were of congenial spirit : both were enthusiasts for evangelical religion and for every humanitarian cause. The bold stand taken by Scott on such issues as these was less pleasing to the City "big-wigs" than it was to Kirby : if Scott had been a less uncompromising representative of the Nonconformist conscience, he would certainly have received the knighthood which was his due. He has received instead "the crown of glory which fadeth not away." Kirby always counted his association with Scott as one of the privileges of his life.

A former Sydney friend and helper, with whom Kirby renewed acquaintance at this time, was the Rev. Joseph Beazley. Beazley had spent many fruitful years as minister of the Congregational Church at Blackheath, but was now living in retirement. This aged servant of God had found a new opportunity of ministry in the evening of his life. In the Blackheath district many wealthy retired gentlemen were resident : some of them were too feeble to attend public worship. The average young minister was rarely disposed to visit their homes, unless for the purpose of soliciting subscriptions. Beazley, however, drove round in his carriage and pair, and spoke as one old man to another concerning the things of God and concerning the Great Beyond to which both he and his friends were drawing near. These visits were warmly appreciated and did great good. Kirby was delighted to visit Beazley's home and to exchange reminiscences of the old days in Sydney.

A visit to the Midlands gave Kirby an opportunity of visiting another old friend, the Rev. W. Cuthbertson, B.A. We last heard of Cuthbertson as the gifted minister of Pitt Street Congregational Church, Sydney. He subsequently held a pastorate in London (Ontario). Returning to England, he settled at Bishops Stortford, where he aided in the development of the famous Bishops Stortford College—a seminary which has nurtured many eminent Congregationalists and is still doing a fine work: Kirby attended a Commemoration at the College during his stay in England and gathered some interesting facts concerning his friend. Cuthbertson was now ministering at West Bromwich, and invited Kirby to occupy his pulpit for a Sunday. It was an affecting meeting, for Kirby never ceased to be grateful to those who helped him in his early struggles and studies. In Sydney, Cuthbertson had been a preacher of a fiery extemporaneous type: he was now addicted to manuscript and to the preaching of discourses closely argued and carefully composed. His talents had been sufficiently remarkable to secure his elevation to the Chair of the Congregational Union of England and Wales in 1879.

Kirby had many opportunities of meeting interesting people. Twice he was privileged to visit Mansfield House University Settlement, Canning Town, and lecture on Australia at the Brotherhood meeting held on Sunday afternoons. The Warden at that time was Percy Alden, afterwards M.P., a man with whom Kirby had much in common and for whose work he ever retained a lively admiration. At Westminster Town Hall he was charmed by the eloquence of Lady Henry

Somerset, whose fervent advocacy of total abstinence and moral purity made her an outstanding figure among the women of that era. Her remarkable conversion from a life of worldliness to the service of God and humanity lent her a special interest from Kirby's point of view: he observed that similar overwhelming spiritual experiences were characteristic of many of the personalities who counted for most in the work of the Kingdom of God: the case of Lady Henry Somerset was like those of Benjamin Scott, W. T. Stead, R. W. Dale, and his own sainted grandmother, the friend of Elizabeth Fry.

The Rechabites of South Australia had nominated Kirby as a delegate to the Triennial Council of the Order, which involved him in a visit to Cardiff. Kirby was a keen Rechabite. The incidence of sickness and mortality in that mutual insurance society demonstrated in a striking way the practical advantages of total abstinence, while the Rechabite policy of getting hold of the young people was thoroughly to his mind. The Cardiff meetings provided opportunity for discussion of the position of the Temperance Movement in Great Britain: Kirby realized as never before the strength of the vested interest which the movement had to combat, while his own observation convinced him that the ravages of the drink traffic were far worse in the Homeland than in Australia: he was especially shocked to see women thronging the bars of public-houses—public-houses of a kind that in Australia would not be tolerated at all. On the Sunday he worshipped in Wood Street Congregational Church, since made famous by the evangelistic ministry of his successor at Port Adelaide, the

Rev. Lionel B. Fletcher, another stalwart in the Temperance cause.

Kirby was especially thrilled by a visit he paid to Oxford. Though his ancient home was little more than twenty miles distant from the city of domes and spires, he had never visited the place: Oxford, as we have seen, was not hospitable to Nonconformists in his young days. He now gazed with satisfaction on the noble pile of Mansfield College—the visible evidence that, even in Oxford, a better day had dawned. It was then only a very recent erection, but already was beginning to exercise a great influence. Of Kirby's impression of its learned Principal we have written elsewhere. Nor did Kirby fail to bow in reverence before the Martyrs' Memorial, for he was ever a fervent Protestant with an old-fashioned detestation for Rome and all her works.

Kirby was a great family man: he devoted much time while in England to the pleasant task of "looking up" his numerous relatives and connections. He visited his old school at Sibford, near Banbury: the Banbury Congregationalists asked him to preach, and he gladly accepted the opportunity of standing for a Sunday in Joseph Parker's old pulpit. In Kirby's youth the fame of the rising prophet had spread as far as Buckingham: he remembered how the folks in those days used to make up driving parties and go all the way from Buckingham to Banbury to sit at the feet of the future pastor of the City Temple. Kirby stayed with an uncle and aunt while at Banbury, but found that many of his relatives had migrated to America and elsewhere. His Banbury cousins were amongst those who had gone:

his uncle and aunt eventually followed their children to the land of the Stars and Stripes.

All too soon the time arrived for Kirby to bid a last farewell to the town of his birth and the land of his fathers. He had resolved to return to Australia by way of India : he therefore booked his passage to Bombay by the R.M.S. *Khedive*. At the outset of the voyage he was far from well : the influenza epidemic was raging in England, and the germ had found a lodgment in his system. The warmth of the Mediterranean, and the even greater heat of the Red Sea, soon restored him to his normal health and strength : he had indeed a wonderful constitution. Even on board ship, he was alive to spiritual opportunities : he organized a service in the second saloon which was largely attended by the passengers.

Kirby landed at Bombay on September 29, 1891. He was fortunate in that his arrival in India coincided with the advent of the cool season : Australian residents are accustomed to intense heat on occasion, but not to the moist heat which makes the Indian climate so enervating to the majority of Europeans. He was intensely interested in the many and varied problems that India presents, and still more in the efforts that were being made to mitigate or solve them. He had had a large experience of the hindrances which beset the path of social betterment in Australia, but was soon satisfied that the task of reformers in the Antipodes is but child's play compared with the task of those who would lift the millions of India to a higher plane of existence. He travelled widely and observed closely. Tourist impressions, especially of a country like India,

are apt to be superficial, if not inaccurate, but Kirby had the advantage of comparing notes with numerous friends who had long and intimate knowledge of the land and its peoples. Naturally, his chief concern was to study the methods and results of Christian missions in India. On this subject his conclusions were as radical as most of his conclusions were apt to be. He satisfied himself that educational efforts, mainly appealing to Brahmins, were not calculated to solve the problem of India's evangelization: he formed the impression that these efforts, especially as carried on by the Roman Catholic missions, were rather likely to rivet more firmly than ever the chains of Brahmin ascendancy. He believed, as most students of Indian affairs believe, that neither the social nor the spiritual needs of India could be met until the villages were reached and the millions of land-cultivators raised to a higher status. His sentiments, both as a Christian and as a democrat, were outraged by what he saw of the arrogance and exclusiveness of the Brahmin "intelligentsia," nor could he see that in these respects the "Westernized" Brahmin was a whit better than other members of the dominant caste. Like Abraham Lincoln, and like a Greater than Lincoln, his sympathies went out to the common people whom God must have specially loved since "He made so many of them." Certainly there were plenty of them in India who needed the spiritual enlightenment, the moral uplift, and the social elevation that only the Gospel of Jesus Christ could effectually bring. Kirby had an opportunity of seeing something of what missions on "industrial" lines could achieve towards these ends: he became convinced that the best way to

Christianize India and redeem her social life was by the creation of self-supporting Christian villages, based on efficient methods of agriculture and developing by means of co-operative organization and marketing.

Kirby was helped to these conclusions through becoming acquainted with an eminent Canadian missionary, the Rev. Dr John Wilkie,¹ to whom he was introduced by his friends in Bombay. Wilkie had been for some years the principal of a great college at Indore, but became dissatisfied with the results of work among the "intelligentsia" and resolved to adopt other methods. He was afterwards the founder of the mission at Jhansi. His idea was to establish a system of Christian villages, preserving Indian traditions of village government and communal agriculture. The people received vocational training on modern scientific lines: motor tractors were introduced, better types of seed sown, the land enriched by superphosphates and the like, and the breeding of animals improved beyond measure. The mission more than paid its way: the cultivators were lifted to levels of prosperity rare indeed among the Indian peasantry who live for the most part on the line of bare subsistence, and even then are commonly heavily in debt to the unscrupulous tribe who batten on their industry and their ignorance. Wilkie believed, and Kirby agreed with him, that the spiritual redemption of India's villagers should have the first claim on Christian enterprise, and that it should go hand-in-hand with well-considered plans of economic redemption, the latter being scarcely less essential than the former.

¹ Dr Wilkie is still carrying on his good work in Jhansi; the writer had the pleasure of meeting him recently, when he confirmed the above facts.

Kirby greatly enjoyed his stay in Bombay. He was cordially welcomed and hospitably entertained by Alfred S. Dyer, editor of the *Bombay Guardian* and a zealous member of the Society of Friends. Dyer proved a friend indeed, for he gave Kirby a number of valuable introductions and practically arranged his entire Indian itinerary. The *Bombay Guardian* was an organ of missionary opinion and propaganda: the editor felt strongly, and wrote strongly, against every kind of social unrighteousness. The liquor traffic, the opium traffic and the vice traffic all came under the editorial lash. Dyer's blunt criticisms of Anglo-Indian officialdom involved him in much obloquy: on one occasion he actually served a term of imprisonment in Bycullah Gaol, which he regarded much as W. T. Stead regarded a like incarceration in Holloway. He and his wife were close friends of the famous Pandita Ramabai, and associated themselves with her in many a struggle for the rights of India's women and against the wrongs of India's widows. Kirby and the Dyers were congenial spirits—all the more so when he discovered that they had so far modified the severity of their Quaker principles as to enjoy the singing of hymns.

Kirby was much impressed by the mingled splendour and squalor of Bombay: he saw and heard many things in that city which caused him furiously to think. On a tram-car, crowded with passengers, he heard a Brahmin order a low-caste passenger to relinquish his seat: the latter obeyed at once and the Brahmin calmly appropriated the seat vacated. A much more astonishing spectacle was that of an individual walking along the public street in a condition of entire nudity: Kirby

naturally wondered why the police took no action, only to discover that the gentleman belonged to a sect which nourished a conscientious objection to clothes, and that interference with anybody's religious faith and practice was contrary to the law and tradition of the British Raj.¹ Kirby was not long in discovering that popular religion in India is permeated with phallic ideas: he found the temples full of obscene idols and disgusting rituals, which, instead of being proscribed, were actually protected by law. To a man of Kirby's intense ethical sense, the Hindu separation between morality and religion seemed about the most appalling heresy conceivable, as indeed it is.

The tourist had plenty of engagements. He went the round of the sights and visited many missions and mission schools, being particularly pleased with what he saw of the activities of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (the American equivalent of the London Missionary Society). The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had several self-supporting Indian churches in Bombay and a number of excellent vernacular schools. Through the Right Rev. Bishop Thoburn, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, he was invited to attend the Bombay District Conference of that enterprising body. Kirby had met Thoburn's predecessor, Bishop Taylor, while the latter was touring Australia, and had formed a high opinion of his missionary statesmanship. Bishop Taylor had been the first Protestant missionary to make any serious

¹ Dr Wilkie informs the present writer that it is now prohibited for a nude "holy man" to enter a city in India, but that the practice is still often winked at (1926).

attempt to provide for the spiritual needs of the "Anglo-Indian" (formerly known as the "Eurasian") population in the East: until Taylor began his work, this had been left to the Government chaplains, and more particularly to the Roman Catholics, who had found among these neglected people a fruitful sphere of labour. Now the Methodist Episcopal Church entered the same field and reaped a like reward. Bishop Taylor subsequently went to North Africa, where also he did a great work for his Church.

It had been arranged that Kirby should travel to Jubbulpore in company with the Rev. John Gladwin, a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Gladwin has been for a time associated with the Salvation Army and had adopted the ascetic mode of life after the manner of the typical Indian "guru." He had indeed rejoined the Methodist Episcopal Church, but still inclined to ascetic ways. Hence he and Kirby journeyed to Jubbulpore in the lowest possible class of carriage, full of men sitting cross-legged on the seats. The apostolic zeal of Gladwin missed no opportunity of evangelization: in five or six languages in turn he exposed the folly of idol-worship and pointed his fellow-travellers to the true God and the crucified Saviour. For temporal needs he cared little: a few bananas and a pennyworth of native bread made a good enough meal for him. Kirby was himself a zealot, but he must have been relieved when at last the train drew into Jubbulpore.

The travellers stayed a night at Jubbulpore, being kindly received by the Methodist Episcopal minister, who happened to be an "Eurasian" and waxed eloquent concerning the slights inflicted on Eurasians by pure-

blooded Europeans. The visitors addressed an anti-opium meeting at which the chairman was a cultured Indian barrister. It was at Jubbulpore that Kirby bought a curio from a street-vendor, only to discover that the street-vendor was a leper: he cast away his purchase with all convenient speed.

From Jubbulpore the travellers made their way to Allahabad. Here they stayed at the American Presbyterian Mission whose splendid properties covered the site of what had once been the palace of the local Governor. On the Sunday evening Kirby preached in the noble Presbyterian Church in the city: he was more than satisfied with the size of his congregation. The Allahabad Presbyterian Mission was at this time devoting attention largely to educational work: Kirby tells the story of how this policy was subsequently modified. A mass-movement towards Christianity occurred in the district of Etah, some 200 miles from Allahabad: it attracted the attention of the missionaries. The people affected by the movement were out-castes ("untouchables"), whose hereditary occupation was that of scavengers. To this scavenging work they added the breeding of fowls and selling of eggs. Now the Indian fowl is, as a rule, a long-legged, skinny creature, while the eggs are correspondingly small and unsatisfactory. The missionaries rose to the occasion. The Rev. Dr Slater was sent home to America, where he mastered the technique of the fowl-breeding and egg-raising business, incidentally securing the interest and financial assistance of a wealthy Chicago lady. Returning to Allahabad, he settled at Etah. There he organized the converts into a kind of co-operative society: he vastly improved

the breed of their fowls and the quality of their eggs. The enterprise proved a great success: a large market was ultimately discovered for the superior products now available. The converts became self-supporting, and even capable of contributing towards the financing of the Mission. This illustrates what Kirby called the common-sense of missionary enterprise.

After calling at Cawnpore and seeing the well of sad memory and the angel of pity enthroned there, Kirby arrived at Lucknow, even richer in memories and monuments of the days of the Mutiny. Here, as at Jubbulpore, the travellers were entertained at the Methodist Episcopal Mission. The devil-worshippers in Lucknow were holding their annual procession in honour of his satanic majesty: the local Christians had arranged a counter-demonstration. Christians came from miles round to assist on this occasion. After an early morning prayer-meeting in the mission church, the whole body of believers marched through the crowded streets, singing hymns in honour of Christ. A vast marquee had been erected, and in this marquee a preaching service was held: multitudes of Hindus and Mohammedans heard the Gospel as well as the assembled Christians. Kirby had been impressed by the splendid celebration of the Feast of the Ascension in the streets and cathedral of Cologne, but he was still more impressed by this Christian testimony in the heart of an Oriental city. In Lucknow, as at Cologne, there were Christians not ashamed to confess the Lord before men.

The Lucknow visit had been timed to coincide with the holding of a great anti-opium convention in the city. It was held in the magnificent hall belonging to the

palace formerly tenanted by the kings of Oudh, and was attended by most of the notables of the province as well as by crowds of humbler folk. Kirby addressed an audience of some fifteen hundred people, all dressed in white robes and wearing splendid turbans: it seemed to him like a scene from the Apocalypse. He had had a part in anti-opium agitation in Australia, and now spoke with passion on the harm wrought both in India and China by a traffic in which the bodies and souls of millions were sacrificed for no other purpose than to make profit for unscrupulous capitalists and revenue for an unscrupulous Government. The great audience passed the condemnatory resolution in a silence more impressive than applause: Kirby describes it as the grandest meeting he ever attended.

At Lucknow Kirby renewed acquaintance with the Rev. John Nelson, formerly minister of the Congregational Church at Keyneton, South Australia, and remembered by temperance enthusiasts as the man who started the "blue ribbon" movement in the colony. He had previously been engaged in missionary work among English-speaking people in India. From Australia he returned to India and became a Presbyterian military chaplain.¹ At the time of Kirby's visit he was attached to a Highland regiment in Lucknow. Nelson and his wife showed in India the same zeal for the cause of total abstinence that had been so notable in South Australia: hundreds of non-commissioned officers and men were induced to sign the pledge. A sympathetic colonel helped the crusade. When another

¹ Mr Nelson is now retired, and is a respected elder of Chalmers Church, Adelaide (1926).

colonel took over command, things became less promising. The sergeants of the regiment invited the new colonel to visit their mess. On discovering that the mess was a teetotal mess, the colonel sharply observed that he had no opinion of men who couldn't take a little without taking too much. The result was that many of the men broke their pledge and got into trouble through drunkenness. No less than twelve sergeants lost their hard-earned stripes over the business. The affair was the better remembered by Kirby inasmuch as Nelson took the visitor with him to console the delinquents then actually under guard. It is pleasing to record that the facts of the matter were brought to the notice of the higher authorities and the colonel morally responsible for all the trouble was thereupon removed. The Highlanders were very attached to their devoted chaplain, who kept open house for all the soldiers of the garrison. Mrs Nelson so zealously seconded his care for the men that she was known by all the soldiers as "Mother Nelson." Kirby was delighted when Nelson asked him to preach at the parade service : it thrilled him to see the whole regiment pouring in to service and to hear the music of the bagpipes. The military band accompanied the singing of the Scotch psalms with much appropriateness and effect. Kirby always called it one of his great occasions.

From Lucknow to Benares the express takes two hours, but Kirby travelled by the local train which took nearly all day. There seemed no end of country stations : at each station the train stopped for a long time. Kirby remarks that the natives are opposed to fast trains : they look on these as swindling the traveller out of the

time on the railway to which he is entitled and for which he has paid !

At Benares Kirby was entertained by the Rev. Arthur Parker, of the London Missionary Society. Benares, the Mecca of Hinduism, extends for three miles along the banks of the sacred Ganges, which is here three hundred yards wide. The place boasts no less than five thousand temples, not reckoning nearly three hundred mosques erected by the Mogul emperors in a vain attempt to popularize the faith of the Prophet. The narrow arcaded streets reminded Kirby of an Italian city : the thoroughfares swarmed with Brahmins, fakirs, sacred bulls and sacred monkeys. He visited the temple where the sacred bulls are kept : the ordure is not supposed to be taken away, but this regulation must be "honoured in the breach"—for obvious reasons. The temple of the sacred monkeys abounded with impudent simians who seemed to be enjoying the best of good times. Numerous palatial buildings have been erected and endowed by wealthy Hindus for the housing and support of the Brahmins. The sacred stream was haunted by thousands of pilgrims who imagined that the waters of Father Ganges were potent in the laving away of sin. The visitor was most impressed by the burning places where hundreds of corpses are daily consumed and thrown into the Ganges : to him the whole city seemed overshadowed by death and to illustrate the great utterance of "Hebrews" which declares that "through fear of death men pass all their life-time subject to bondage." The more he saw of Hinduism in practice, the more heartily he agreed with Macaulay that "any form of Christianity is an improve-

ment on the Hindu religion." The sacred wells on Mount Karnaki are described by Kirby as containing the most putrid and filthy "water" anywhere to be found: "London sewage is pure by comparison." Yet pilgrims from all parts exhibit practical evidence of their faith in its magical healing and cleansing properties: people with appalling ailments and villains laden with crimes and iniquities bathe in these wells. No Christian could gaze on such spectacles without remembering the fountain opened for all uncleanness and the water which is in the soul as a well springing up to everlasting life. Yet Kirby could see little evidence that Christianity was making much progress in Benares: it is as hard to make people Christians in Benares as it is to make them Protestants in Rome. Since his visit the London Missionary Society has actually abandoned the work in Benares in order to concentrate money and labour on other and more fruitful fields. Kirby's own observations made him a strong advocate of this policy more than thirty years before the London Missionary Society felt constrained to adopt it.

Gladwin had preceded Kirby on the return journey from Benares to Bombay. Relieved of his ascetically-minded companion, Kirby travelled second-class instead of third-class, and enjoyed the journey much better. In the same carriage he had for company a Parsee, a Mohammedan and a Brahmin. They all spoke good English, and were most eager for information about Australia. The Parsee was a most intelligent business man: he plied Kirby with questions about business prospects under the Southern Cross and took the names of likely customers. From business the conversation

veered to religion : as Kirby had a robust belief in the personality and power of the devil—a belief mightily strengthened by his stay in Benares—he found the theology of Zoroastrianism not at all uncongenial. At sunset his three fellow-travellers betook themselves to their various religious observances : unlike many professing Christians, none of them was ashamed of his faith or afraid to testify to it in the presence of others. Kirby followed their example : in that railway carriage the Brahmin called on his gods, the Mohammedan turned towards Mecca, the Parsee offered prayer to Ormuzd, and Kirby prayed to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The rest of Kirby's Indian tour may be more briefly described. Arriving at Bombay, he again enjoyed the hospitality of the Dyers, but only for a night. He now turned south and spent a night at Trichinopoly at the Wesleyan Methodist Mission in that city. In Trichinopoly the Roman Catholics have an immense college, staffed by European graduates and numerous attended by Brahmins and other high-caste people. Kirby learned that, shortly before his visit, a public meeting had been convened by people of the lower castes to protest against the results of this work. The argument ran as follows : " For many generations we of the lower castes have endured the oppression and exploitation of the Brahmins : now you Christians, who might and should help us on the road to larger freedom, are devoting yourselves to increasing even more the knowledge and power of the dominant caste. It is very imprudent and very unfair." Kirby's host in Trichinopoly sympathized with this position as warmly as Kirby himself. Both believed

that the introduction of thirty million modern ploughs would do more good for India than the rearing of thirty thousand University graduates, and that the creation of an enlightened peasantry was infinitely more worth while than the multiplication of "babus."

At the time of Kirby's visit Trichinopoly was laughing over the discomfiture of the general officer who had recently assumed command of the military in that district. A certain caste had long been accustomed to receive payment for keeping watch and ward over the horses belonging to the garrison. The new commander thought the expenditure unwarranted: the soldiers could look after their own horses and the money be saved. For a time this policy seemed justified by success: the General told everybody that nothing but a little resolution was needed to suppress impositions of the kind referred to. But one fine night all the horses mysteriously disappeared: they were ultimately found far away on the slopes of the Himalayas. The injured caste had avenged their wrongs in a way that Indians could appreciate, even if the General did not. It was not long before the General came to the conclusion that the former conditions must be restored: in India even military authority must bow to the sway of immemorial custom.

At Madura Kirby stayed with the missionaries of the American Board. He was taken to see the immense Hindu temple which is the principal sight of the place. The temple is four times as large as St Peter's at Rome, but is unroofed. The gates are immense, consisting of no less than thirty thousand stones, each stone having upon it a sculpture depicting a god. Kirby drily

observed that this arrangement was highly advantageous in a religion which boasted more than a million gods : it made it possible to worship a good number all at once. Ten thousand people thronged the enclosure, worshipping immense and hideous idols : the central object of worship was a symbol too obscene for description. The whole business savoured rather of demonolatry than of worship as understood by dwellers in more enlightened lands : it was obviously motivated by dread and certainly not productive of goodness : Kirby turned away in sadness and disgust.

At Salem Kirby was glad to see something of the work of the London Mission, and especially to meet Miss Lois Cox, daughter of his old friend, the Rev. F. W. Cox, minister of the Hindmarsh Square Congregational Church, Adelaide. She was doing splendid service among the women and girls, but obviously overworking herself and anything but well. Kirby's prognostications of breakdown proved all too well justified : Lois Cox passed away in the prime of her usefulness, having literally burned herself out for the love of India and the service of Christ : it is fitting that a memorial hospital at Salem should bear her name. Kirby attended a morning service at Salem, at which the presiding missionary announced a hymn of thirty-five verses : the Indian Christians like long hymns and sing them anywhere and everywhere.

Kirby's last night in India was spent at an hotel in Tuticorin, kept by a Christian of the second generation. The place is predominantly Christian : an Anglican bishop has his seat there and rejoices in a fine cathedral with a creditable choir. At the time of

Kirby's visit the Bishop was away from home, but the headmaster of the High School did the honours of the Mission. He explained that for miles around every village had a Christian blacksmith, instructed in modern methods of work : this fact had done much to raise the prestige of Christianity among the peasantry.

From Tuticorin Kirby crossed to Ceylon and spent some days in Colombo as the guest of the Hon. John F. Ferguson, a member of the Legislative Council of the island. Ferguson was the proprietor of the leading newspaper in Colombo : his niece, a gracious and cultured lady, superintended the army of servants and presided over a beautiful home. The Fergusons were members of the Cinnamon Gardens Baptist Church. On the Sunday Kirby preached there and found a large and well-to-do congregation of various races and colours. His host and hostess saw to it that he missed none of the sights of the island : he not only visited Kandy, but made a trip to the mysterious ruined cities in the neighbourhood of Anhuradapura. He had indeed every reason to be grateful to Alfred Dyer for the introduction to the hospitable Fergusons.

Neither the spicy breezes of Ceylon's isle nor the gracious hospitality of the Fergusons could prevent Kirby from rejoicing when the time came for him to embark for the land of his adoption : he was longing to get home to his family and his friends. They were equally desirous to see him. His attached deacon, Captain Bickers, lent his tug, the *Stanley*, so that Mrs Kirby and the children, with a great crowd of Church people, might meet the liner at the Semaphore anchorage. To the *Stanley* the traveller was transferred, and

so returned in triumph to Port Adelaide. An enthusiastic welcome meeting marked the commencement of a new era of work at Port Adelaide.

In 1903 the time came when it was evident to Kirby's friends that he needed another long holiday. The deacons at Port Adelaide gave him three months' leave, and a good friend in the congregation solved all financial difficulties by presenting to Kirby the price of a return ticket to Honolulu, together with a letter of introduction to an uncle resident there. Accordingly early in March Kirby set off to Sydney, where he spent a few pleasant days with his married sister, Mrs Burnet. He embarked on an American mail steamer. As usual, he organized a religious service for the passengers on Sunday evenings. Among the regular attenders at the service was a German coffee planter who had had large estates in Brazil but had lost his property through one of the many revolutions which occurred in that distressful country. The German had travelled extensively and spoke many languages. He had visited the Philippines during the Spanish regime and formed a poor opinion of conditions there. Pirates were kidnapping and enslaving people almost within sight of Manila. The southern islands were hardly governed at all, thus providing the pirates with an excellent base of operations. Throughout the Philippines education was neglected and obscurantism reigned supreme. American annexation had made a beneficent change in all respects. The pirates had been suppressed, the southern islands brought under efficient control, universal primary education made compulsory, and the Romish Church disestablished. The German was a man of

sorrowful spirit, but Kirby's earnest sermons and bright companionship seemed to give him new hope and courage, and the two became excellent friends.

After calling at Auckland—a place delightful both for climate and situation—the vessel sailed northward to Pago-Pago, in American Samoa. The heat was great and clothing seemed almost a superfluity. The muggy warmth of Samoa, and the monotony of life in Pago-Pago, made the place seem anything but attractive to the American officials and soldiers condemned to live there. At Honolulu the travellers had to prove to the authorities that they possessed a certain sum of money and were not likely to become chargeable on the public funds: Hawaii, being now a territory of the American Union, was subject to American immigration restrictions. The friend to whom Kirby held a letter of introduction more than fulfilled the prophecies of his Port Adelaide nephew in the matter of hospitality. Mr Lyle was one of a family of shipbuilders who had established branches of their business in Dundee, Glasgow, St John (Nova Scotia), San Francisco and Port Adelaide, as well as in Honolulu. He lived in a beautiful mansion a mile and a half from the city. Lyle was a widower: his eldest son—a sea-captain—had been lost at sea, but had left a daughter whom Lyle adopted as his own and sent to America to be educated at Vassar College, perhaps the most famous of all the women's seminaries in the United States. Kirby enjoyed every moment of the three weeks he spent in beautiful Hawaii: he thought Honolulu a splendidly organized city, and well entitled “the paradise of the Pacific.” The temperature rarely falls below 65 degrees and rarely

rises above 85 : fruits ripen and flowers bloom all the year round : noble mountains protect the city from excessive winds and rains. A fine tram service adds considerably to the amenities of the place. The countryside exhibits everywhere a tropical luxuriance, and the mountain scenery is extremely grand. Many Australian gum-trees reminded Kirby of his adopted country. The sugar plantations, situated on volcanic soil, produce as much as eleven tons of sugar to the acre : they are esteemed the best in the world. Immense pumping stations ensure an ample supply of water, and the most modern appliances are everywhere employed. Kirby was keenly interested in industrial processes : his travel diaries reveal a taste for practical enterprises which would certainly have brought him a fortune in business.

Naturally, however, his chief interest was in the social and spiritual condition of the islanders. The land, he states, belonged to the native Hawaiians, who leased it to the various operating companies. These latter employ coolies—Chinese, Japanese and Portuguese. At the time of Kirby's visit the coolies received an average wage of thirty shillings weekly (not bad for pre-war times), and were allotted four-roomed wooden houses, each with a strip of garden. The sexes were in due proportion, and the children were all educated in the American State schools, receiving instruction in English, and becoming both Americanized and Christianized. Every morning the children gathered round the Stars and Stripes and sang the American National Anthem—"My country, 'tis of thee"—following this up with a salute to "Old Glory." The three races among the coolies live apart, and are indisposed to

co-operate in their common interests: if the Chinese become restive, then the Japanese and Portuguese are as good as gold. The Portuguese are of course chiefly Roman Catholics and maintain their own European customs and sentiments. The law enforces on the planters the obligation of providing medical attendance for the coolies, and also of paying the expenses of their repatriation when their term of service is expired. Few of the coolies take advantage of this latter provision: they prefer to stay in Hawaii.

Kirby made diligent inquiries about the effect of inter-marriage between the races, of which there is a good deal in Hawaii. The question is of great importance to Australians, for one great argument in favour of the "White Australia" policy is the alleged demoralizing and dysgenic results of inter-racial unions. The head of the American Mission told Kirby that inter-marriage between Hawaiians and Chinese tended to produce a stock superior to either of the parental stocks, that the Chinese were excellent husbands and fathers and left nothing undone for the welfare of their offspring. It was further stated that Hawaiian girls seemed to have an objection to marrying Japanese, and in some cases committed suicide in order to avoid so doing: the Japanese possessed a bad reputation in the island in the matter of their treatment of women. Even more emphatically did Kirby's American informant express his distaste for inter-marriage between whites and Hawaiians. These were not infrequent, for the Hawaiian women often had property which constituted a temptation to white suitors. But he said that almost invariably such marriages were a miserable failure: the parties

failed to pull together, and the children were puny and weakly.

Kirby's host was a loyal Congregationalist, worshipping twice every Sunday at the great Union Church in Honolulu. The church rejoiced in the ministry of a first-class preacher, who in turn rejoiced in a princely stipend, a magnificent parsonage, and an annual vacation of two months (spent in the United States). Many wealthy and cultured families were associated with the church. The young people were educated in the local colleges — excellently organized institutions — and in most cases were sent also to the colleges and universities in America. At the church the singing was led by the usual paid quartet, but Kirby was glad to note that the congregational singing was far better than is generally the case in American churches. The Sunday School was held on elegant, not to say ornate premises, and fitted with all the best of apparatus: the secretary of the local Y.M.C.A. officiated as a paid superintendent. A lady graduate functioned as assistant pastor, with charge of an extensive work among the women and girls. She, together with the minister, conducted efficient catechumen classes for the girls and boys respectively: almost all the young people joined the church, and were thoroughly instructed before doing so. The church maintained two branch churches and their ministers: one was for the benefit of Portuguese and the other for the Japanese. Kirby was amazed at the generosity of the people: the treatment accorded to the minister was certainly far better than he was accustomed to observe in Australia, where stipends are never princely, and often mean and beggarly. He was even more

delighted at the evidence of spiritual life and missionary fervour: the prayer-meeting was excellently attended and the missions enthusiastically sustained. The church had cost £8000 to erect, all of which had been subscribed by a group of Honolulu business men at a preliminary committee meeting: the land also was freely given.

Congregationalism had a traditional connection with Hawaii, for the islands had been first evangelized by missionaries of the American Board. The arrival of the missionaries occurred just after the islands had been united into one kingdom. The king was induced to abandon heathenism and suppress idolatry: influenced by the royal example and mandate, the people became Christians *en masse*—hardly a Congregational procedure! The missionaries came from a severe New England school and demanded high standards of their converts: they even tried to abolish the native dances. Roman Catholic missionaries arrived later on the scene: it is hardly surprising that the less strenuous form of Christianity represented by them won many adherents from Hawaiians who said of New England Congregationalism, “It is too high: I cannot attain unto it!” But the Americans did a mighty work. They led many of the natives to a rich and wonderful experience of redeeming grace: they enormously improved the morals of the people: they promoted education: they laid the foundations of a solid State based on justice and law. Under the guidance of the missionaries, the native kings promulgated a constitution, which set up a limited monarchy with a legislature of two houses: they created a legal code and a fine system of civil and criminal jurisdiction: they erected in Honolulu a Parliament House, a Supreme

Court and a Royal Palace superior to the corresponding institutions in Adelaide. The islands became covered with churches, parsonages and day schools. A wise land law saved the native from becoming what he often is—a landless serf in the country of his fathers. Liquor was strictly prohibited—a measure all the more necessary in view of the fact that alcoholism has peculiarly ruinous effects on the Hawaiians. Truly, the American Congregationalists have reason to be proud of the work accomplished by their representatives in Hawaii.

These idyllic conditions were not permitted long to endure. Adventurers from America engineered a revolution in 1893, ousted the native monarchs, and set up a farcical republic. Worst of all, alcoholic liquor was introduced and wrought terrible havoc among the Hawaiians: multitudes perished and the very springs of native life were poisoned for a generation. Things became so intolerable that in 1898 the United States Government was compelled to intervene and annex the country. Efficient rule, and above all the introduction of Prohibition, ushered in a happier day: wherever else Prohibition may have been a failure, it has not been a failure in Hawaii: there it has meant nothing less than the resurrection of a charming people in grave danger of being altogether extinguished by the curse of strong drink.

Kirby was particularly delighted and impressed with the musical gifts of the Hawaiian people: of all the Pacific races the Hawaiians excel in the arts of music and song. The best modern European composers have not been ashamed to borrow from the melodies of this island people. Everyone knows how the national instru-

ment, the "ukalele," has been welcomed in other lands : its soft, sweet chords have become nearly as familiar as the strains of the violin and the harp. In Honolulu the municipality maintained a fine orchestra of native musicians and encouraged community singing in a very delightful way. The newspapers announce daily where the orchestra will perform—in parks, gardens and other public places. Here the Hawaiian public eagerly gathers. Nowhere, except perhaps in Germany, does music contribute more to the pleasures of existence than in this paradise of the Pacific.

Wherever he went, Kirby missed no opportunity of inspecting schools and discussing matters of education. In the schools of Honolulu, attended by the children of several races and nations, the observer found unusual interest. He was quick to note the mental alertness and excellent memories of the Chinese—the teachers affirmed that in the competition of school life the Chinese excelled not only the Hawaiians and the Japanese but the children of the European stocks. Whatever political troubles may assail the Chinese State, the mental gifts of the Chinese people seem such as to assure for them a great place among the nations of the future. The Chinese of Hawaii were extremely keen on the education of their children : they make great sacrifices to equip them for a successful career. Yet Kirby heard of a well-to-do Chinaman, who had married a Hawaiian wife and been to her and to their children a model husband and father, settling all his affairs, bidding wife and family good-bye after making full provision for their welfare, and returning alone to China to die, possibly solacing his eventide with a *Chinese* wife ! He was

assured that such a procedure was not at all uncommon among the Chinese of Hawaii.

While in Honolulu Kirby had several meetings with the Rev. Dr Daniels, Senior Secretary of the American Board. About this time the Gilbert Islands had been annexed to the British Empire. Hitherto the missionary work in this group had been divided between the London Missionary Society and the American Board of Foreign Missions : it was now thought desirable that the whole of the work should be taken over by the British society. Kirby suggested to Daniels that, if the Americans would agree to finance their part of the work for an agreed period and to hand over the mission properties free of charge, the London Missionary Society would be able more easily to consent to the proposed extension of its responsibility. On these terms the matter was settled. Kirby was the more interested in these negotiations, inasmuch as he was himself proceeding straight from Honolulu to the islands under discussion.

Kirby was delighted with what he saw of life in the Gilbert Islands. The results attained there were creditable alike to the missionaries and to the British administrators. The Gilbertese natives were thoroughly Christianized : an excellent school system had been set up : the people had retained their land and their law, and had been effectively protected from white spoliation. The land was cultivated by the natives and for the benefit of the natives, under the general supervision of the British authorities. Native law was, with some modifications, retained, and administered by the native chiefs under British control. The Gilbertese were in the happy position of being almost unconscious of taxation : the

Government took the responsibility for the sale of the products of their industry, retained what was needed for the expenses of administration, and distributed the balance among the islanders. Kirby thought the administration of the islands a model of what administration under such conditions should be, contrasting vividly with the deplorable results of the coolie system in Fiji.

This seems an appropriate place to insert a note regarding Kirby's interest in the welfare of the natives of Fiji. In August 1921 the *Contemporary Review* published an article entitled "Back to Slavery," from the able pen of John H. Harris, Secretary of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society. The reading of the article stirred Kirby to righteous indignation as he realized with new vividness the wrongs inflicted on the child-peoples of the world by the avarice and lustfulness of white traders and exploiters. He became especially uneasy about what he heard of conditions in Fiji. Early in 1923 it came to his knowledge that his friend, George L. Barrow, formerly editor of the *Port Adelaide News*, was now resident in Fiji and engaged in a struggle for the rights of the natives there. He wrote to Barrow, calling attention to the article in the *Contemporary Review* and dilating on the excellent conditions which had been created in the Gilbert Islands by the joint efforts of the missionaries and the authorities in that favoured group. Barrow's reply contains matter of interest and food for thought. He says, *inter alia*: "I sometimes feel despondent that my voice is that of one crying unheard in the wilderness regarding the grave wrongs that British administration is . . . inflict-

ing on the Fijian race, whose destiny has been entrusted to our hands as a sacred trust, and whose ruin and not far distant extermination we are most surely consummating. . . . Here Government, Press and people are entirely imbued with the one sordid desire of extending the operations of trade and commerce, and encouraging capitalistic exploitation. It is considered that, if we treat the aboriginal inhabitants with humanity, and recognize their right to receive some rent for the land obtained from them, our whole duty to the native population is fully discharged. No consideration is given to Christian or moral obligations, and no chivalrous sentiment of 'noblesse oblige' is entertained, in our relations and dealings with the natives. Even our recognition of their proprietorship of the land is a very dangerous benefit, tending to immerse them in the slough of indolence. Instead of being taught, encouraged and assisted to develop by their industry the magnificent resources of their country, they are urged and even forced to transfer their lands to others for cultivation, while they live in idleness on the rent. While in West Africa, native production has enormously increased under British administration, the opposite has happened in Fiji. Instead of having large quantities of produce for sale, as was the case at the date of cession, the natives now largely depend on wild plants from the bush for their daily sustenance. . . . I have announced myself as a candidate for the Legislative Council, mainly as a challenge to this system. With my pro-native, anti-cheap-labour views, I am unlikely to get any support, but my candidature may cause some people to think." This extract will show what Kirby meant when he drew

such a strong contrast between conditions in the Gilberts and those in Fiji.

Since we have dwelt on Kirby's criticism of the Administration in Fiji, it is only fair to mention his warm appreciation of the work done by the Methodist missionaries in the islands. Through their heroic labours the natives have been brought from savagery and cannibalism to a living knowledge of Christ: the natives, and above all the women, have been elevated to levels far above anything known before. Kirby was particularly gratified when the Methodist Church decided to develop the Fijian Mission on industrial lines, and sent a trained agriculturist from Australia for the purpose of instructing the natives in how best to utilize the resources of the country. He hailed this decision as marking the dawn of a better day for the people of Fiji.

Both in this chapter and in the previous chapter we have followed Kirby through many and varied fields. We have seen ample evidence of his entire freedom from the "parochialism" which is the besetting weakness of the Australian type of mind—a weakness which is due in part to the geographical isolation of Australia, and in part to the absorption of public attention in the problems that inevitably arise in the development of a new country. Many Australians have no real conception of Australia: they are born, live and die in one State. The growth of communications and better facilities for transport, and more especially the establishment of the Federal Commonwealth (1901), will, it is hoped, tend to correct this. If many Australians have no real conception of Australia, there are still fewer who have enjoyed opportunities of gaining what may be

called "a world-outlook." But Kirby had the spirit of John Wesley's famous utterance—"The world is my parish." For him extended travel was not only a form of recreation, but a highly valued means of intellectual and spiritual education: from his wanderings abroad, and from his fellowship with Christian workers in far-flung fields, he returned with doubled zest and increased knowledge to his own work, realizing that it was *his* contribution to the coming of a world-wide Kindgom.

Chapter IX

A CROWDED EVENTIDE (1908-1924)

SIXTEEN years of life remained to Kirby after his retirement from the pastorate at Port Adelaide. We have used the word "retirement," but it is true to say that he never really retired. His reforming activities were continued, and in some ways even intensified, in the years following 1908: his release from pastoral responsibilities enabled him to give more time and attention than before to the public causes in which he was interested. Many of these activities have been sketched in the chapter on "Public Questions in South Australia": it seemed better to arrange the material topically rather than chronologically. Even when, toward the last, increasing infirmities prevented him from travelling much or from addressing public meetings, the output of his pen was still vast and his interest in denominational and public affairs undiminished. He was just as eager to learn new ideas and new methods as he had been in his boyhood at Buckingham seventy or eighty years before: indeed his mind broadened rather than narrowed in his old age. At no period in his life was his eager sympathy with childhood and youth more apparent than in this closing period. Moreover, the dogmatism which in some of his utterances appears excessive and even harsh became softened as he drew nearer to the realm where we "know as we are known." It was a beautiful as well as a crowded eventide.

In January 1909 Kirby is the subject of a racy article in the *Australian Christian World*. He is described

as a blend of the aggressive righteousness of the Cromwellian Independents and the guarded tolerance of the Society of Friends. He is "a liberalized Puritan," with a strong blunt mind of a typically English bent, a genius for discovering practical remedies and a manifest impatience of abstract theories and doctrinaire notions. He not only likes omelettes, but is not afraid of breaking the necessary eggs, even if the smell thereof is sometimes not fascinating. There is nothing subtle or elusive about him: if he were a more complex and sensitive individual, he would probably have done far less for the public good. As it is, he is a modern St Sebastian, who finds a kind of esoteric pleasure in his own lacerations. In debate he is ready and trenchant, with a gift for seeing the joints in his opponent's armour and for driving home his shafts with a maximum of point and a minimum of verbiage. He is too close bound to an imperious convention of timeless dignity to be conventional in the petty sense. "In the genial sunset of his working day, he stands with alert mind and youthful heart, casting a clear look across the ever-changing field of thought and action, and seeing beyond it that great sunrise of eternity which dim-eyed souls call the night in which no man can work."

The "modern St Sebastian" might be careless of outside criticism and vituperation, but he was nevertheless a sensitive soul in all that concerned his intimate and domestic affections. Within three months of the interview just quoted he was called upon to undergo the greatest grief of his life. Mrs Kirby passed away in her sleep on the morning of April 21, 1909. The occasion was the more pathetic, inasmuch as Kirby was

himself away from home at the time, fulfilling a series of engagements in Western Australia. While his bereavement seemed not to affect his zest for public work, those who knew him best were aware that it had left a blank in his life that never could be filled: like many another strong man, he was singularly dependent on the ministries of the home. He began to look forward to the not-distant end, and to cherish more and more the blessed hope of an eternal reunion. It is indeed impossible to overestimate the debt of Kirby to his wife. She had taken an energetic and tactful part in the work of all three of his churches, and a modest share in the life of the community. But her supreme ministry was in the home where for nearly forty-four years Kirby had found an unfailing refuge from the storm and heat. Now that she was gone, the care of the battle-worn veteran devolved on the tender assiduity of his unmarried daughter, Margaretta, who was indeed the good angel of his declining years.

In March 1910 Kirby took part in the Induction Service in connection with the settlement of the Rev. Llewellyn D. Bevan, D.D., LL.D., as Principal of the newly established Parkin College. There was much rejoicing over the fruition of the munificent endowment set aside by the Hon. William Parkin as far back as 1877: Kirby was eagerly interested in the work and ever ready with criticisms and suggestions. More than ten years later he participated in the installation of the second Principal of the College, and offered a prayer which will be long remembered by all who shared in it. The church at Port Adelaide, which had sent so many men into the ministry in Kirby's time, still maintained the

tradition. At least three of the younger ministers in South Australia came from that church, in addition to the thirteen men who trace their vocation more definitely to Kirby's influence (see Appendix II). It would be interesting to know how many churches in the Homeland have sent sixteen men to college in the course of less than half a century: certain it is that this record is unparalleled in Australia.

In April 1910 Kirby wrote an interesting article for the *South Australian Congregationalist* on the manifold shortcomings of his ministerial brethren in connection with public prayer. He recounted that he had recently attended a dozen services of worship: on only one occasion was any allusion made in prayer to public affairs and to public men, while there was a similar paucity of allusion to children and young people. He complained that the prayers he heard were almost exclusively occupied with the personal interests of the worshippers, and that even of these a deplorably narrow view seemed to prevail. In communities which maintain liturgical forms there is some guarantee that the devotions will spread over a wide field, but in other communities everything depends on the minister taking a large view of the functions of public devotion. If he fails to do so, the whole service is correspondingly impoverished. The Scripture exhorts us "rightly to divide the word of truth": it is equally important rightly to divide the prayer of faith, and to see to it that every issue of human interest and importance finds adequate recognition therein.

In 1911, as President of the Adelaide Council of Churches, it fell to Kirby's lot to make arrangements for

the great United Service on the occasion of the coronation of His Majesty George V (June 22). It proved a soul-stirring time. The Rev. Henry Howard, then the minister of Pirie Street Methodist Church, now the pastor of Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York, delivered an address of remarkable power and elevation. The Governor of South Australia (Sir Day H. Bosanquet) was present, and declared himself much impressed: his letter of thanks to Kirby is couched in language much warmer than is usual in such official communications.

Kirby's enthusiasm for child-study and child-nurture seems to have increased rather than diminished with age. We have already referred to his championship of the Montessori Method, and his zeal for its application to the work of the Sunday School. All through his ministry he had been foremost in founding new Sunday Schools and in reorganizing old ones: both in New South Wales and in South Australia he had induced the Congregational Unions to establish effective Young People's Departments. He had been an advocate of Kindergarten training long before he had heard of Montessori: in season, and out of season, he pleaded for the establishment of Primary Departments in the Sunday Schools and the adoption of the Graded System. He believed that the churches were insufficiently alive to the challenge of childhood and the rich opportunities of the Sunday School: he lamented the apathy in this connection of theological colleges, ministers, and the rank and file of church members. To him it seemed that half the problems of the churches would solve themselves, if only we would follow the Master's example and "set the child in the midst." He complained that

his own denomination sinned even more than other Christian bodies in its want of enthusiasm for work among the young: indeed he attributed its relative weakness in Australia very largely to its failure just here. Certain it is that Kirby would approve of no biography which failed to stress this aspect of his message.

In the issue of the *South Australian Congregationalist* for May 1914, we find Kirby returning to the congenial theme of "The Minister and the Sunday School." He lamented that many of his brethren seemed to take little or no interest in this vitally important branch of the Church's work, that they were little in touch with the officers and teachers, and hardly at all in touch with the children themselves. Thus there was likely to grow up a subtle division between Church and Sunday School fatal to the best interests of both. The Church under such a ministry is apt to regard the Sunday School as a kind of appendage, while the Sunday School acquires a pernicious independence. It is obviously the duty of all Christian people to be urgently concerned for the winning of the young for Christ and the Church, and the most practical way of fulfilling this duty is through the Sunday School. Yet, if the minister fails to show an example of interest and enthusiasm, it is hardly reasonable to expect other people to be interested and enthusiastic. For the frequent failure of ministers in this respect Kirby was inclined to attribute much blame to the theological colleges: he complained that a student might go through a full course of training without being made to realize so much as the existence of such a creature as the child. In Kirby's judgment a sound knowledge of child-psychology and of pædagogy

was far more important to a working minister than a detailed acquaintance with the eccentricities of the Gnostics and the minutiae of the "Higher Criticism."

Kirby was not the man to rest content with general exhortations: he was fertile in practical suggestions. He was an ardent believer in the value of the catechetical method, nor was he troubled because critics regarded it as old-fashioned and out-of-date. He complained that neither in the pulpit nor in the Sunday School class was there enough systematic instruction in Bible doctrine and Christian truth: aspects of Christianity might from time to time be worthily enforced, but few people, either children or adults, were taught to understand Christianity in any complete or even adequate way. One effect of his reading of Baxter's *Reformed Pastor* was to reveal to him the significance of the Shorter Catechism as a medium of intellectual and spiritual culture. Both in his work as a chaplain in Cromwell's army and in his pastorate at Kidderminster Baxter found the Shorter Catechism invaluable. What it has meant to the Scottish nation is so well known that it hardly needs recalling. Another great advocate of the use of the catechism was Matthew Henry, the commentator. Kirby could not see that any modern discoveries or developments had in the least degree invalidated the case for the wise use of catechisms: indeed it seemed to him that the need for systematic instruction was greater than ever in these days of religious and theological unrest, and no method of systematic instruction seemed to compare with the old "question and answer" method. He therefore set to work to compile a brief catechism, covering only what he regarded

as the essentials of Christian knowledge. Naturally, the catechism was redolent of his own personality and outlook, as anything that Kirby did was bound to be. With his characteristic keenness for the ethical implications of Christian doctrine, he began by stressing the reality, majesty and certainty of the Moral Law—Kirby was quite Kantian in his sense of the “categorical imperative.” He went on to dwell on the fact of man’s disobedience, the nature and effects of sin, and the incapacity of man to secure his own redemption, by works or otherwise. He then set out the Pauline doctrine of justification and sanctification, concluding with a fervent description of the perfection that awaits the believer in the realm where salvation is made complete. It must be admitted that Kirby’s phraseology is hardly to be called “modern,” nor can it be described as particularly adapted to the comprehension of boys and girls: one is inclined to doubt whether a catechism of this peculiar kind is ever likely to become generally used—at any rate in Congregational churches. But Kirby was surely right in calling attention to the need, even though some of his best friends might have doubts as to his own success in supplying it. Some readers will recall that the Free Church Council in England many years ago prepared a similar catechism: it too failed to win general approbation and adoption. Many other attempts have been made, but we are still waiting for the genius who will give us the ideal catechism.

In February 1917 an article from Kirby’s facile pen appeared in the *South Australian Congregationalist* on the need and duty of “Personal Evangelism.” Kirby was always justly resentful of the idea that evangelism was

a task to be delegated exclusively to the minister: as a good Congregationalist, he held that all Christians were called to be ministers and witnesses of the Grace of God. In the Primitive Church every member was an evangelist, and to this fact may largely be traced the rapid diffusion of the faith. Early Congregationalism was imbued with the same idea. But in these days there is a noticeable tendency to regard the ordained minister as a kind of "proxy" for the congregation: they look on while he does the work. Only when the whole Body of Christ functions in the sphere of evangelism will the world feel as it should the impact of the Christian challenge. In our reaction against the crude methods by which some earnest people seek, as it were, to thrust salvation down men's throats, we have gone to the other extreme and developed a morbid shyness about speaking to men on the vital issues of personal religion. Kirby's article was a timely protest and a fine piece of exhortation.

In the same month, February 1917, Kirby shared with Jefferis and other veterans the honour of being entertained at a complimentary luncheon, given by Sir Edwin T. Smith. Though less than ten years have passed since that occasion, hardly any of the participants now remain with us. Jefferis passed to his reward at Christmas 1917, thus depriving Kirby of one of his oldest and dearest friends. Kirby took part in the funeral.

In December 1918 Kirby returned to the subject of "Ministerial Training." He was strongly of opinion that the whole spirit of the average theological college was too academic, and that the traditional curriculum

was largely out of relation to modern needs, and he expressed his views in the pungent style of which he was a master. At the same time he appealed to his brethren and to the churches to do more in the way of encouraging "vocations"—a matter of vital importance to which many of them seemed strangely indifferent. The shortage of candidates for ministerial training, so markedly apparent after the Great War, was felt in Australia as well as in England, and is still troubling us. The article in the *South Australian Congregationalist* was a timely reminder that the very life of the churches depends on solving this problem.

It was not until May 1920 that the present writer came into personal contact with Kirby, and under the scrutiny of that flashing eye which took everything in and summed everybody up. Already Kirby had addressed to him several characteristic letters, setting forth his views on the work of theological colleges, and concluding, as all Kirby's letters did, with the apostolic salutation, "Grace, mercy and peace." As we have seen again and again, Kirby was rather suspicious of the academic type of mind, and more than suspicious of the "Higher Criticism" to which that type of mind was supposed to be sadly prone. But he was almost desperately keen on the work to be done among the students, while common zeal for the social applications of the Gospel helped to bring us together. From time to time he visited the College and addressed the students, seeking to kindle in their souls the flaming passion that burned in his own. An occasion abides in the memory when a question arose about the selection of a hymn for one of those devotional gatherings. Kirby wanted

"Come ye sinners, poor and wretched," and insisted on having it, maintaining that it was eminently appropriate alike for the students and their professors! He was, of course, a tremendously interesting man for a newcomer to meet: his store of reminiscences and his wide knowledge of "Australiana" made him a fascinating conversationalist, while in everything one felt the touch of a singular originality and power. He was always frank, and always friendly, ready alike to give and to receive.

In October 1921 Kirby attended a "Summer School of Theology" at Parkin College, where he distinguished himself and rather electrified the audience by a vehement defence of the historicity of the Nativity stories as recorded by St Matthew and St Luke. His speech revealed a wide acquaintance with biological facts: he seemed to think that cases of parthenogenesis in the realm of nature might be regarded as a kind of prophecy of the method of the Lord's Incarnation. He exhibited what seemed to some of his hearers an almost morbid fear lest any weakening on the subject of the Virgin Birth should start us on the slippery slope that led to what he regarded as the abyss of Unitarianism and to a consequent paralysis of the whole evangelical dynamic.

Kirby had been trained in an atmosphere to which anything savouring of the drama was wholly alien. In the year of the Great Exhibition in London (1851) he had visited a theatre in the metropolis: it was his one and only experience as a play-goer. It was not till the very end of his long life that he began to realize the possibilities of the drama as a religious agency. At the close of 1921 he was attracted by an article in an

American religious journal: it was entitled "Biblical Dramatics and Pageantry," by Martha Candler. Early in 1922 he became immersed in the great "Report on the Teaching of English," issued under the auspices of the Board of Education in London: this contained an estimate of "The Drama as a Form of Educational Activity." Kirby now came to the conclusion that he had been mistaken in his view of the drama: the drama might indeed be prostituted and made "procuress to the lords of hell," but it was in itself the natural expression of a legitimate and God-implanted instinct and capable of being employed for the highest and holiest ends. He thought the Quakers had been mistaken in their hostile attitude to music: he now thought the Puritans had been mistaken in their renunciation of the drama. The whole world of art must be claimed and exploited for Christ: a merely negative and hostile attitude was no less an injustice to religion than an injustice to art. He remembered the great drama which he had seen enacted at the Ascension Day festival in Cologne, and the vast impression it had created both on townsfolk and visitors.

With Kirby action always followed hard on the heels of conviction. Articles from his pen, embodying the arguments and conclusions of Martha Candler, appeared in the *Adelaide Register* and the *Australian Christian World*. He brought the subject before the Ministers' Fraternal in Adelaide. From America he imported copies of typical Biblical dramas and lent them among his friends. His son, Bevan Kirby, assisted by the young people of the Sunday School of Port Adelaide Church, organized a very successful "Pageant of the Nativity": both actors and audience were of opinion that the

new departure was in every way worth while. At the Sunday School Festival of the South Australian Congregational Union in October 1922, the drama *Ruth*, written by the Rev. Percival Watson, B.A., was produced by the young people of Clayton Church: a crowded audience was delighted with the performance, which has since been repeated in Melbourne and elsewhere. A Congregational Young People's Dramatic Society was organized: a missionary play called *The Knight-Errant*, by the Rev. L. Robjohns, B.A., of the Kensington Gardens Church, attracted a great crowd at a Missionary Exhibition held in Adelaide, and was subsequently presented in several Sunday Schools, as also happened in the case of another drama by the same author, called *The Captive*, skilfully adapted from the "Song of Songs." Biblical dramas and pageants have now become almost commonplace, but Kirby may fairly claim the honours of a pioneer, so far as Australia is concerned.

In this memoir we have hitherto made little direct allusion to Kirby's family interests, apart from occasional references to his parents and his wife. His mother came with him from Sydney to Port Adelaide: she survived till 1885, having outlived her husband by nearly a quarter of a century. To Kirby's wife's death in 1909 we have already referred: it was indeed a dark shadow cast over his retirement. A son and a daughter had been born to them at Dalby. Of these John Montagu developed a literary turn of mind and became a journalist in Sydney, as his father might easily have done. Margaretta ("Ettie") grew up to be a great helper in the church at Port Adelaide, and a well-known figure

among the Congregational women of South Australia. But her chief task was that of ministering to her father's needs in the fifteen years that followed on her mother's death: in his sorrow her care was the great solace, while in the closing time of increasing weakness he came to depend more and more on her.

At Woollahra were born four daughters, one of whom died in infancy. Of the survivors Mary Maud developed exceptional intellectual gifts. After a brilliant school career, she became in 1887 one of the first group of women students at the University of Adelaide, graduating in 1890 as Bachelor of Science, with Honours in Physiology. Kirby's strong advocacy of higher education for women could find ample justification in the career of his own daughter. She subsequently married John Nicholas, and went to live in Western Australia, where she is well known both as a worker in the Congregational churches and as a Temperance reformer. His third surviving daughter, Grace Mildred, became a teacher and shared with her sisters the paternal home. The fourth daughter, Aimée Coles, was also a teacher: she shared in the literary bent of the family, and worked with enthusiasm in the Kindergarten Department of the Port Adelaide Sunday School. Her death in August 1904, at the early age of twenty-seven, was a severe blow to the Kirby household, even though they were cheered by tokens of love and sympathy from far and near.

At Port Adelaide was born a second son, Bevan. He qualified as a chemist and is to-day in business near the place of his birth. He became a deacon of the Port Adelaide Church, the leader of the Young Men's Society

which his father had founded in 1880, and zealous in every good work. Though married and with children of his own, his home was not far distant from his father's abode at Semaphore, which proved a great blessing in the last years. He was in every way a worthy son of a worthy father.

During the first eight years of his Port Adelaide pastorate Kirby resided in Lipson Street, not far from the church. Port Adelaide was then much more of a residential place than it now is. There were six children at home, so there was plenty of liveliness. The study was sacred. There "Father" always laboured in the mornings: one sermon was invariably finished by Wednesday, and the other by Friday. The "baby" of the family had the privilege of summoning the toiler to his appointed meals, and enjoyed the reward of being carried on his father's shoulders to the table in the dining-room. Of course family prayers were sustained in the good old-fashioned way (now, alas, almost extinct). On Sundays, at tea-time, young men foregathered: after tea there was an improvised choir practice in the drawing-room. Outside there reposed an antiquated cycle: Kirby had intended to use it in his pastoral visitations, but found the machine too awkward and the roads too bad. This was before the era of "the Gospel chariot," referred to in an earlier chapter.

From 1888 to 1890 the family resided at Semaphore. It was a pleasant change from the bareness and ugliness of Port Adelaide to live in a home surrounded by lawns and almond-trees, and boasting a quaint arbour. It was during this period that the famous phaeton was first

purchased: the children naturally found delight in accompanying their father on his pastoral rounds, for there was always a good chance that they might be permitted to share in the hospitality extended by the faithful to their revered father. About this time Kirby launched his elder son on a journalistic career, which involved his departure for Sydney. Kirby introduced at least five young men to journalism, besides his own son: he was often asked for advice when the recurring question arose as to "What shall we do with our boys?" The vacancy created by Montagu's departure was partly filled by a cousin from Sydney—also a journalist—who was for several years chief reporter of the *Adelaide Advertiser* in Port Adelaide, and manager of the local office. Another young boy cousin came out from England, so the home was still full of juvenile spirits.

Kirby's delight in finding a job for everybody was as apparent in the home as it was outside of it. Every member of the household was expected to contribute some form of domestic service. The younger boy was called on to clean the harness: at a later date he was enlisted to copy out a long screed on "Mendelism."

The old Puritan had a horror of smoking as well as of intoxicants. The younger boy, aforesaid, on one occasion was indulging in the inevitable cigarette—not of course in the house, but in the adjoining lane. Who should appear but "Father"? The boy stood as though riven to the spot: to his unspeakable relief, his parent passed within a yard of him without recognizing his presence. Indeed Kirby very rarely

recognized people in the street, partly because he was near-sighted, and partly because he was always absorbed in thought. Yet he knew more of what was going on in the community than the most wideawake "hustler" who had eyes only for the trivialities and superficialities of life.

Kirby loved the beautiful hills which encircle "the Queen City of the South": often the phaeton was requisitioned for a family excursion to one or other of the beauty spots, while the family holidays were generally spent amid their loveliness. Even on these occasions, however, Kirby's pastoral instinct never slept: casual meetings on the wayside were often occasions of friendly talk and cheer: the children recall how often he ministered in this way and left some weary and discouraged soul with an uplifting sense of the presence of God.

In those days he played a little chess, and taught the other members of the family to play too. But he found that the game made too great demands on his time and attention, so he gave it up.

In 1890 the family returned once more to Port Adelaide, where they took a house with ample grounds and a stable. The tall trees in the garden seemed to the boys to have been put there for the convenience and exercise of youthful climbers. The drawing-room had a beautiful chandelier, with hanging lamps, which the mother appreciated, because it reminded her of the Paris of her girlhood.

As if the family were not already sufficiently large, two orphaned cousins from Sydney were added to the number during this period, and subsequently yet a

third orphaned cousin. After a time grandsons also appeared and received a hospitable welcome. Kirby seems to have kept "open house" for all his relatives. As the patriarch of the Kirby clan, he felt this to be his duty, and many a lad and lassie had reason to be grateful for his kindness.

Some stories are told of this period—1890–1895—which illustrate Kirby's character. He was undoubtedly a man of intense determination: when he made up his mind to do anything, he never rested till it was done. On one occasion Kirby arranged a hurried exchange with the Rev. W. M. Grant, of Angaston. Kirby had the bad fortune to miss the afternoon train. The only thing to be done was to drive. So the boys were requisitioned to make ready the phaeton, but it was not till 4-30 on the Saturday afternoon that "the Gospel chariot" got away. He drove that night to Houghton, about twenty miles distant, where he found hospitality with Robert M'Ewin (brother of the Rev. John M'Ewin alluded to in a previous chapter). Early on the Sunday morning the preacher started on the next stage of his journey: he covered the forty miles from Houghton to Angaston exactly at eleven o'clock: he went, just as he was, into the pulpit, rejoicing that he had been able to keep faith with Brother Grant.

A drunken carter—the father of a large family—had lost everything, including even his dray. He pleaded with the pastor to give him another chance and a new set-out. Kirby personally advanced the money, on the wise condition that the new dray and cart-horse was brought every night to the Manse stable.

So for a time "the Gospel chariot" and the Gospel pony had some strange company. In due time the carter redeemed his property and became a changed character.

Another story with a happy ending is that of a young man, the son of one of the old deacons. He had become involved with money-lenders, with the usual result. Ultimately he had to inform his widowed mother. The old lady came to the Manse in dire distress. Kirby at once took the legal documents to Josiah (now Sir Josiah) Symon, Q.C., who most kindly took the matter up. He wrote a stiff letter to the threatening vampires, and their threats were heard of no more. Sir Josiah charged no fee for his part in the business: he even told Kirby to come to him again in any similar case of distress. Kirby chuckled for many a day over the discomfiture of the money-lenders, and always had a warm place in his heart for the great lawyer.

In 1895 Kirby went back to Semaphore, where he planned a new house, and followed with eager interest every stage in its erection. In this house he lived until the day of his death: his unmarried daughters live there still. As the house is next door to the Congregational Church at Semaphore (see Chapter V), it was possible for Kirby to attend worship there, even when increasing infirmity made it impossible to attend twice, or even once, a Sunday at Port Adelaide.

Even to the end Kirby was a great reader of newspapers and periodicals. Apart from the "dailies" and the religious "weeklies," he read English papers, not omitting the Buckingham paper, and the *Bombay Guardian*. He took the *Fortnightly*, the *Edinburgh*

Review, the *Nineteenth Century*, while he studied the *Contemporary* most diligently of all. He believed in solid reading too : there was always at least one ponderous work in process of absorption. Everything he read, he mastered. He often wrote to the newspapers when he came across any new ideas that seemed worth while, with the object of clarifying them in his own mind, and also of discovering how they impressed others. He was not intimately acquainted with natural science, but was much interested in its philosophical applications and implications : he revelled, for example, in reading on the electrical theory of matter. He liked poetry, but could give little time to it : he was particularly fond of Gray's *Elegy*, which is certainly one of the noblest monuments of England's muse. He was exceedingly fond of conversation : he rejoiced in the give-and-take of ideas, and was himself an excellent "raconteur." When he was eighty, he took to motoring, for his younger son then bought a car and gave him many appreciated outings. Nothing delighted him more than to visit old friends in the country. In the same year he paid his last visit to Sydney.

Almost to the end he was a faithful attender at the "Congregational Ministers' Fraternal" in Adelaide, and rarely failed to lift up his voice. He never missed the Congregational Union Assemblies : his appetite for *hearing* sermons and speeches must be accounted an unusual evidence of grace in a preacher. Within a month of his death he participated in the opening of the "Temple," a finely designed new church at Henley Beach, which delighted him greatly. It was his last public utterance.

For some time before the end he was busy collecting and writing the memoranda on which this biography is based. He assembled voluminous material and wrote with amazing fluency and clearness. Almost to the week of his death, while his "earthly house" was "perishing," his "inward man" seemed "renewed day by day": it was only then that he sank into the sleep from which, on Friday, August 1, 1924, he passed into the sunshine of the Eternal Father. It was a gracious ending to a great story.

On the following day (Saturday, August 2, 1924) the mortal remains of Joseph Coles Kirby were laid to rest. Everywhere in Port Adelaide flags were at half-mast, while a large concourse of citizens and former members of the congregation joined in a solemn diet of worship in the church where Kirby had so long and faithfully ministered. The service was conducted in a spirit of thanksgiving: the worshippers could well praise God for the life that had been so fruitfully lived amongst them and now translated to a nobler realm of activity. The Rev. Ernest W. Weymouth (then pastor of the church) presided: the address was delivered with much feeling and appropriateness by Walter Hutley, J.P., Chairman of the South Australian Congregational Union and Senior Deacon at Port Adelaide. Intimately acquainted with Kirby for something like forty years, the speaker was well fitted for his task. Prayer was offered by the Rev. W. Penry Jones (for many years Secretary of the South Australian Congregational Union): he also had enjoyed many years of close friendship with the deceased father-in-God. J. W. Channon, J.P., Kirby's musical helper for a generation, presided at the organ and beautifully

interpreted Handel's undying music. At the graveside in Cheltenham Cemetery the committal service was conducted by the minister of the Port Church, assisted by the Rev. W. J. Beasley, of Semaphore (now of Claremont, W.A.), and the present writer. The attendance included practically all the Congregational ministers in the metropolitan area, and many ministers of other denominations. The South Australian Temperance Alliance, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and many other philanthropic and religious organizations were represented by strong delegations.

The memory of Joseph Coles Kirby is naturally venerated by those who knew best the man and his work. A memorial stone has been erected over his grave in Cheltenham Cemetery—a memorial adorned with a clock-face, the hands pointing to six o'clock, as a reminder of the great reform which he did so much to win. A three-panel memorial window has been placed in the sanctuary at Port Adelaide: the cost has been defrayed by the family, assisted by loving friends in the church. The subject is "The Good Shepherd." We cannot forbear from quoting those lines which Matthew Arnold wrote as a tribute to another "under-shepherd":—

"To thee it was given
Many to save with thyself:
And, at the end of thy day,
O faithful shepherd, to come,
Bringing thy sheep in thy hand."

We can well understand that such a ministry as that which has been all too imperfectly sketched created a

keen sense of appreciation, both within the Congregational denomination and in circles beyond it. It is pleasing to add that many of the subjoined testimonies were offered to Kirby during his lifetime: walking humbly with his God, he had also the joy of knowing that his work and worth were recognized by men. On his retirement from the pastorate the *New South Wales Congregationalist* paid him a fine tribute:—

“His ministry was a great office nobly exercised: the Gospel was in his mouth a great message faithfully and appropriately delivered. Nearly always he brought us the wheat without any trace or sign of the chaff. Another direction in which Mr Kirby has specialized, or rather it was so much of a passion with him that one feels it would be more fitting to say nature specialized in him—at any rate, Mr Kirby was a great humanitarian. He had an irrepressible impulse towards the advocacy of practical social reforms. A more ardent Christian patriot Australia has not known. He loves his kind, and very few have done as much as he, and fewer still done it so disinterestedly, to bring about gentler measures and purer laws. His influence has been felt in every Australian State.”

The following passages are adapted from a long and eloquent tribute from the pen of the Rev. Lionel Fletcher, his successor at Port Adelaide, now of Auckland.¹ Since the writer had peculiar opportunities for knowing Kirby's inner mind and heart, his words are the more impressive:—

“He was no ordinary man: his massive head, his commanding mouth, his air of authority, his abrupt and

¹ Contributed to the *Australian Christian World*.

unceremonious speech, all commended him to me : he was to me as a second father. He was thought by some to be an intolerant fighter, but he was in reality possessed of the tender heart of a woman. He feared no one save God, but to Him he would go as a little child. I never knew a man who believed more in prayer, or who was so absolutely taken up with the work of God. He was not a kid-gloved, bell-topper knight, but a warrior in steel, with gloves of steel and a sword of steel, but under it all was a heart of love. He was one of the greatest, grandest men who has ever filled an Australian pulpit, and the life of the Commonwealth is the richer and purer for his ministry. He was, in spirit and ideals, one of the last of the Puritans."

Perhaps the most discriminating estimate of Kirby is that which the present writer has gathered from various numbers of the *South Australian Congregationalist*. The writer—the Rev. George Rayner (still happily with us)—is known throughout Australia as the chosen orator of Australian Congregationalism, with a mastery of stately diction reminiscent of earlier and less hurried days.

"Mr Kirby is a privileged person : we forgive him even when he scolds us and calls us bad names, for we know with how fine a flame his zeal for the Kingdom burns. He effervesces with perpetual surprises : he has the temper, the faculty of greatness—that heavenly greatness which our Lord so beautifully exemplified in the instance of a little child."

Elsewhere Mr Rayner justly described Kirby as "a born partisan." Kirby was, fortunately or otherwise, devoid of "the embarrassing faculty of seeing two sides

of a question." "He is probably the most undivided mind among us."

Writing after Kirby's retirement, Mr Rayner says: "There are many things which have contributed to render Mr Kirby's service so fruitful and so extensive—his quaintness, his freshness, his living sense of vocation, and that noble humanity which is so intimately related to every human interest." "He owes little to decoration of any kind. We cannot conceive him observing the scrupulous niceties of dress, concerned with the fastening of a button or the arranging of a tie: a spruce, well-groomed, perfectly fit presentment is among the trivialities to which he cannot and will not condescend. His indifference to appearances approaches to the sublime. Yet he is not without a sense of order: he has a faculty for getting things done with precision and promptitude. He is an excellent chairman, practical, sagacious, intuitive, keeping everything and everybody to the point, pushing the business through in his own quiet, masterful way. His knowledge of men is instinctive: it approaches genius. He has a driving power which is impatient of obstacles: he has a faith which laughs at impossibilities and cries, 'It shall be done.' What he has succeeded in doing is marvellous alike in its magnitude and in its audacity. He believes in Congregationalism, yet he would have Congregationalism to be elastic, adjustable, adequate to the hour and the need. His strong common sense furnishes a formidable weapon of offensive and defensive warfare. His preaching is simple, direct, a series of hammer-strokes that rarely miss the mark: it glows with an intensity of faith. He moves

on high levels of spiritual experience: the veil between him and the Unseen is thin."

Kirby was a man of striking personal appearance. He was somewhat below the average height and, in his old age, looked a decidedly frail figure. Yet he was blessed with a singularly sound constitution, which had been hardened rather than weakened by exposure to wind and weather in his earlier days. His thin grey hair emphasized the breadth and nobility of his forehead, while his twinkling eyes could easily reflect both the humour and the pathos that lurked within. He looked what he was—a venerable father-in-God. The impressiveness of his appearance was enhanced by his somewhat extraordinary manner of dress. He generally wore a rather ancient-looking frock-coat, an Indian topee (sun-helmet), motor goggles, mittens, and a knotted cream silk handkerchief around his neck: the season of the year made little difference to this *tout ensemble*. Like many other great souls, he was little concerned with the external niceties of apparel. The present writer well remembers the impression produced by half a dozen visits to his little study. At first it seemed like chaos, with books, magazines, newspapers, and all kinds of pamphlets and other memoranda strewn around, but it was soon obvious that the owner knew where to put his hand on anything: if there was confusion, it was "ordered confusion." The lady with the duster was not welcome in the sanctum: he had his own ways and disliked any interference with them.

Kirby was essentially a simple soul: the modern psycho-analyst would have got little "change" out of him: no one could imagine that *he* was the prey of

submerged "complexes." Though he could be obstinate, and on occasion even ferocious, his temper was singularly kindly and serene. Even in the warmest debate he kept his head, and when it was over bore no malice. He was shrewd in his judgments and candid in his criticisms, but he rarely forgot the call to charity. There are not many people so well acquainted as he was with the ways of both worlds: he was as clear about matters of finance as he was about matters of faith. Ever ready to help poor and distressed individuals, he was probably less often imposed upon than might have been expected: for loafers and parasites he had no sympathy at all: with him generosity was not separated from "gumption." From his Puritan forebears he inherited a tradition of probity and economy: he hated waste and extravagance. He never seems to have taken any interest whatever in ordinary games and sports: to him reading and writing and talking were recreation as well as work. Yet no one could describe him as an unmanly person or indict him as a "kill-joy": he was a "man's man," if ever there was one. Our study of his career has amply exhibited his moral courage, his capacity for holy indignation, his intense dislike for sloppiness and stupidity in every form, his noble zeal for the wronged and the oppressed. The flame of life burned clear and strong: his was no maudlin piety.

To "moralize" or "sermonize" on such a life as that which has been incompletely sketched would be a manifest superfluity and even an impertinence. Greatness, like good wine, "needs no bush": Kirby's true epitaph is written in "sweeter manners, purer laws," and above all in lives made new by the Grace and Power

of the Gospel, which in him was indeed a "savour of life unto life."

"O strong soul, by what shore
Tarriest thou now ? For that force
Surely has not been left vain !
Somewhere, surely, afar,
In the sounding labour-house vast
Of being, is practised that strength,
Zealous, beneficent, firm ! " ¹

¹ Matthew Arnold, *Rugby Chapel*.

Appendices

I

JOHN ALEXANDER DOWIE

KIRBY's extensive activities in South Australia brought him into contact with many remarkable men, but none more remarkable than the notorious John Alexander Dowie. His reminiscences of Dowie deserve transcription, inasmuch as Dowie's earlier career contrasts remarkably with his later development as a religious charlatan of the first rank.

Dowie, born in Edinburgh in 1847, was bred in Adelaide under the faithful and able ministry of the Rev. Francis William Cox, of Hindmarsh Square Congregational Church. He was an amazingly precocious person: even as a child he loved to attend classes and meetings, nor was he backward in asking questions concerning subjects generally regarded as beyond the range of a juvenile intelligence. He became a thorough student of the Bible: few, if any, could rival his intimate knowledge of the sacred text. His father was a respected deacon and lay-preacher, who rejoiced greatly in the exceeding promise of John Alexander. After studying for the ministry in Adelaide, he made his way to Edinburgh and continued his course there. Returning to South Australia, he was ordained at an unusually early age to the pastorate of Hamley Bridge and Alma. His preaching gifts were extraordinary: he was soon called to be the minister of the Congregational Church at Manly, New South Wales, and then to a still more important charge at Newtown, Sydney. He there developed strange eccentricities and delusions. One Sunday morning he emerged from the vestry in full canonicals, carrying a glass of wine. He mounted the pulpit, held the intoxicating glass before the astonished congregation, and dramatically exclaimed, "These be thy gods, O Israel." He then intimated

his immediate retirement from the pastorate, gathered up his robes, and marched from the church as from a place unclean. Since the Newtown people were, in fact, a congregation in no way deserving of Dowie's violent strictures, the episode suggests that the young pastor's mind was already becoming unhinged.

Dowie now gathered a congregation at a theatre in Sydney—certainly a more fitting environment for such exhibitions as we have described. From Sydney he migrated to Melbourne, where again he experienced no difficulty in assembling an audience. He now added to his reputation as an orator the fame of a "miracle-worker." From Melbourne the restless Dowie passed to New Zealand, where he preached from one end of the Dominion to the other and found plenty of believers in his occult powers. Such a person could have but one ultimate earthly goal—the United States, then, as now, the paradise of the charlatan. In San Francisco he gathered a huge following, but it was not until he reached Chicago that he attained the climax of his notoriety. With amazing audacity he hired the great Auditorium, and commenced a violent campaign against pork. This was in itself enough to set the porcine metropolis in an uproar, while the sensation was increased by the performance of alleged "miracles." Dowie's amazing command of Scripture and ingenious exegesis of Scripture texts was eminently calculated to impress a religious public largely composed of half-educated Bibliolaters. Multitudes were induced to seek for "spiritual healing" and to follow a strict regimen by way of preparation. Dowie now gave himself out as the reincarnation of Elijah, and the founder of the New Zion: he created a new religion of which he was the inevitable Pope. He succeeded in building a city called "New Zion," a few miles out of Chicago, where he established factories on an extensive scale. One important feature of Dowie's doctrine was his insistence on tithes: as a result of this, money flowed freely into the prophet's ever-open treasury. This aspect of Dowie's teaching suggests that he was less insane than might otherwise appear. Towards the end of his life he gave himself out as the High Priest of the New Zion as well as its appointed

Prophet : he assumed the robes and ornaments of his office and wore them at his public services. He died in 1907, having once again demonstrated to the world what could be achieved by limitless audacity in appealing to limitless credulity.

Dowie tried hard to persuade some of his Australian friends to settle in the New Zion. A Congregational Home Missionary on Kangaroo Island, South Australia, became infatuated with Dowie, and departed, with sundry members of his flock, to the Dowie metropolis, thus bringing the Kangaroo Island mission to an untimely end. On the vessel in which Kirby sailed to Honolulu he found a number of farming families on their way to cast in their lot with the ex-student of Union College, Adelaide. Dowie was anxious to win Kirby, and flooded him with papers and pamphlets, but Kirby's sturdy common sense was early revolted by Dowie's extravagances and he left the new-style prophet severely alone.

The character of Dowie was well analysed in the *South Australian Congregationalist* for March 1907 :—"The Rev. J. A. Dowie's was a remarkable career—a remarkable career run badly. If he was a prophet, he was not a prophet in whom the moral sense predominated. His private follies were exceeded only by his public insanities. He was probably the victim of 'grandiose monomania.' Still there was a force in him whose tremors were felt at the ends of the earth. He had a wonderful faculty of persuasion, of cajolery, the faculty which produces conviction and creates a following. If he didn't impose on himself, he imposed himself on others. The instinct of accumulation was active and enterprising in him : he might have been a great financier and capitalist. He had a singularly copious repertoire of abusive epithets, and his self-opinionativeness, combined with his inordinate pugnacity, made him a reckless and somewhat dangerous antagonist."

II

RECRUITS FOR THE MINISTRY

No man in Australia has been more zealous and successful in winning men for the Christian ministry than Joseph Coles Kirby. He was always on the look-out for "lads of parts" and nurturing them with all the enthusiasm of a Scots "dominie." The sub-joined list will be of interest to many readers :—

(1) THOMAS ROSEBY, M.A., LL.D. (Camden College and Sydney University). Originally associated with Pitt Street. A thinker and preacher of considerable influence. Distinguished as a student of science, especially of astronomy. Ministered in Dunedin, N. Z., where he became well known as an early advocate of Prohibition. Returned to Australia, and laboured at Ballarat (V.) and Marrickville (N.S.W.). President of the Congregational Union of Australia and New Zealand.

(2) WILLIAM BRADLEY. Also originally associated with Pitt Street. A fluent preacher of a popular type. Connected with Seamen's Mission, Sydney, and afterwards ministered at Brighton Road, Brisbane, and Oxford Street, Melbourne.

(3) HENRY WILES. Another Pitt Street recruit. Exercised a useful ministry among the Methodists.

(4) JOHN BECKENHAM (Extra-Mural Course, N.S.W.). A recruit from Ocean Street, Woollahra. A gifted teller of tales, endowed with descriptive and dramatic powers of a high order. Also an excellent organizer and successful pastor. Married a gifted wife, whose knowledge of Scripture rivalled his own, which was very considerable. Ministered at Hunter's Hill, N.S.W., Nelson and Dunedin, N.Z., Waterloo and Mascot, N.S.W.

(5) EDWARD MOORE. Another Ocean Street recruit. A gracious preacher and born organizer. Much assisted by his wife. Ministered at Back Creek, Bathurst, N.S.W., Roma, Q.,

Brighton Road, Brisbane, Kogarah, N.S.W. Accomplished a great work as Secretary of the Sydney City Mission.

(6) JOHN M'COY. Ocean Street. Became Methodist minister.

(7) JOHN PRICE. (Camden College.) Ocean Street. Became Anglican clergyman.

(8) F. TRIVETT. (Camden College.) Ocean Street. Became Anglican clergyman.

The following men were recruits from Port Adelaide:—

(9) JOHN CHAPMAN (Extra-Mural Course, S.A.). A minister of fine character and universally respected. Laboured at Maitland, Hamley Bridge (two pastorates), Port Pirie, Keith, and Truro, in South Australia, also at Bunbury, in Western Australia. Died in 1921.

(10) MILES MOORHOUSE. Associated with Kirby in work of Social Purity Society (Secretary). Studied for the Mission Field and was ordained by Dr R. W. Dale in Stow Church, but was prevented from fulfilling his ambition. Held pastorates in Tasmania, Queensland and Western Australia. Finally became a school teacher, but continued to render service as a preacher, and was long a valued worker at Johnston Memorial Church, Freemantle. Died in 1926.

(11) GEORGE HERRINGTON. Unexpectedly invited to become assistant pastor at Kapunda, S.A. A man of saintly character and considerable power, who won great affection. Ministered at Milang, S.A., and Busselton, W.A. Died of consumption, in the prime of his usefulness, in 1907.

(12) NICHOLAS JOHN COCKS, M.A. (Camden College and Sydney University). A philosopher, mystic and poet: much beloved. Ministered at Kogarah and North Sydney, N.S.W. Invited to Pitt Street when that famous church was under a heavy cloud. Restored the church to esteem and usefulness, and exercised a quiet, but potent, influence in many lives. Died in 1925.

(13) MARTIN LUTHER JOHNSON, B.A. (Camden College and Sydney University). A man of piercing intellect and gracious piety—one of the ablest theologians that Australian Congregationalism has produced. Ministered at Hamley Bridge (twice) and College Park, S.A., and at Balmain and West Maitland, N.S.W. Died in 1926.

(14) T. ERNEST PIERCE (Camden College and Sydney University). Ministered in Queensland and New South Wales, finally becoming editor and proprietor of the *West Maitland Mercury*, but still continuing to render valuable help in the pulpits and Sunday Schools in the locality. Married the daughter of Rev. T. J. Pepper, a college-mate of Kirby. Died in 1926.

(15) ERNEST JAMES STACY (Extra-Mural Course, S.A.). Originally a journalist, but abandoned a good position to enter ministry. Had long been a great worker at Port Adelaide, especially in connection with the Sunday School and the Young People's Societies. Has exercised a most useful ministry in Maitland, S.A., Broken Hill, N.S.W., and Freemantle, W.A., especially as a pioneer of modern methods of work among the young. Is now Secretary of the South Australian Congregational Union and of the Parkin Mission, and Superintendent of the Young People's Department of the Union.

(16) ALEXANDER WILLIAM GORDON (Adelaide Congregational College). Ministered at Houghton, Victor Harbour and Mount Lofty, S.A. Served in Great War and suffered so much from the effects that he was compelled to abandon a promising ministry. Is now a farmer, but still preaches occasionally.

(17) HERBERT GEORGE NELSON (Adelaide Congregational College). Ministered at Tumby Bay, M'Laren Vale and Angaston, S.A. Is now at Geeveston, Tasmania, and Chairman of Tasmanian Union.

(18) DAVID MILNE, son of Rev. David Milne, of Bordertown, S.A., a most devoted pioneer missionary in the bush-country.

Ministered at Murray Flats and Milang, S.A., also in Queensland. Now at Bellerive, Tasmania. Has been Chairman of the Tasmanian Union.

(19) ARTHUR CARL NELSON (Parkin College, Adelaide). Ministered at West Maitland and Woollahra, N.S.W. Chairman of New South Wales Union (1924-1925). Has recently succeeded Rev. C. Bernard Cockett, M.A., at Memorial Church, Hobart.

(20) JOHN LOUGHEAD (Extra-Mural Course, S.A.). Ministered in Western Australia, South Australia, and Queensland. Now out of the ministry.

(21) HARRY PERCIVAL LAMBERT. Seamen's Missioner at Port Adelaide. Served for a time in Parkin Mission. Now in Methodist ministry.

(22) GEORGE H. CLEAVELEY. Served in Parkin Mission. Minister at Stawell (Victoria) since 1920. Originally a recruit from the Semaphore Church.

Index

A

Aborigines, 219
 Addresses, Chairman's—
 N.S.W. Congregational Union, 132-39
 S.A. Congregational Union, 177, 182
 Australasian Congregational Union, 189
 Adelaide, 122, 285
 Adelaide Congregational College, 187, 188
Advertiser, Adelaide, 284
 Alberton, S.A., 145
 Alden, Percy, M.P., 237
 Allahabad, India, 246
 Alliance, S.A. Temperance, 202, 203, 207, 209, 290
 Alma, S.A., 147
 America, 17, 67, 72
 American Civil War, 234
 Angas, Hon. George Fife, 142
 Angas, Hon. J. Howard, 196, 204
 Angaston, 286
 Anglicanism, 67, 73, 82, 87, 177, 196, 207
 Archibald, G. Hamilton, 152
 Archibald, W. O., M.P., 214
 Arminianism, 19, 67
 Ashfield, N.S.W., 126
 Aston, Rev. D. W., 27
 Atonement, Doctrine of, 67, 76, 179
Australian Christian World, 269, 280, 291

U

Australian Committee, L.M.S., 176
 Australian Mutual Provident Society, 94, 103
 Australian Steam Navigation Co., 115

B

Back Creek, N.S.W., 127, 128
 Ballantyne, J., 159
 Balmain, N.S.W., 75
 Banbury, Oxon., 239
 Band of Hope, 34, 53, 54, 155
 Bankruptcy of John Kirby, 35
 Baptism of J. C. Kirby, 26
 Baptisms, 80
 Barker, Mrs, 31
 Barmaids, 205
 Barmera, S.A., 165
 Barrow, George L., 265, 266
 Bathurst, N.S.W., 127
 Baxter, Richard, 149, 275
 Beasley, Rev. W. J., 290
 Beazley, Rev. Joseph, 52, 57, 236
 Beazley, Rev. Theophilus, 73
 Beckenham, Rev. John, 96, 98, 215, 300
 Beecher, Rev. Henry Ward, 105, 234, 235
 Bellamy, Rev. Samuel, 27
 Benares, India, 249
 Bequest, Right of, 49, 212, 214

Beukers, Rev. John, 165
 Bevan, Mrs Joanna, 21
 Bevan, Rev. Llewellyn D., 188, 230, 271
 Bible Class, Buckingham, 27
 Bible in Public Schools, 151, 177, 178
 Bible—*see* also Scriptures
 Bickers, Captain John, 157, 159, 255
 Binney, Rev. Thomas, 175, 230
 Birks, Charles, 200
 Birmingham, England, 37, 54
 Bishop's Stortford, England, 237
 Blackheath, England, 236
 Blackmore, Edward, 60
 Bombay, India, 240, 243 ff
Bombay Guardian, 243, 287
 "Bona-fide traveller," 205
 Boon, E., 159
 Bosanquet, Sir Day H., 273
 Botany Bay, N.S.W., 78
 Bowenville, Queensland, 88
 Bradley, Rev. William, 125, 139, 300
 Brahmins, 241, 243
 Braintree, Essex, 158
 Braithwaite, Mrs Bevan, 33
 Brighton Road, Brisbane, 129
 Brisbane, Queensland, 47, 65, 74, 91, 117
 Brisbane River, Queensland, 65
 Brothels, Suppression of, 198
 Brougham Place, Adelaide, 122, 186
 Buckingham, England, 15-37
passim, 229-30
 Buckingham, Duke of, 23
 Buell, Charles, 77-79
 Bull, Rev. William, 66
 Burnet, Mrs, 256
 Bushnell, Rev. H., 67, 76, 183
 Butler, Josephine, 197, 231, 232
 Buzacott, Rev. Aaron, 59

C

Cadbury, James, 33
 Caire, J. W., 159, 160
 Calvinism, 19, 27, 62, 67, 73
 Camden College, Sydney, 52, 56, 58, 73, 98, 101, 128, 154, 171
 Campbell, Hon. John, 95
 Campbell, Rev. R. J., 183
 Camperdown, Sydney, 130
 Candler, Martha, 280
 Canterbury, England, 106
 Canterbury, N.S.W., 112
 Cardiff, Wales, 170, 238
 Carpenter, W. H., M.P., 214
 Castle Flour Mills, Buckingham, 19, 20, 35, 36
 Catechism, 150, 152, 275, 276
 Caterer, Thomas, 159, 160
 Caterham College, England, 228
 Catholics, Roman, 37, 45, 67, 68, 69, 73, 79, 87, 107, 110, 116, 177, 196, 206
 Cawnpore, India, 247
 Centralization, Dangers of, 49
 Ceylon, 255
 Chairman of Congregational Unions
 —*see* Chairman's Addresses
 Challinor, Dr Henry, M.P., 68, 69
 Chalmers Church, Adelaide, 248
 Channon, John W., 159-61, 289
 Chapman, Rev. John, 301
 "Chariot, Gospel," 150, 283, 286, 287
 Chartists, 24
 Chess, 336
 Chewings, Miss Hannah, 196, 199
 Child, Importance of, 189, 274
 Childhood of Kirby, 15-35
passim
 Children and Intoxicants, 206
 Children of Kirby, 83, 281 ff
 Chinese Immigration, &c., 50, 116, 263

- Christian Colonist*, 204, 206
Christian Commonwealth, 210
 Christmas Day Closing of Hotels, 206
 Christology, 179, 183
 Church Extension, 123, 137, 181, 191
 Church Rates, 30
 Church Union in Australia, 176, 191, 192
 City Mission, Sydney, 95, 129
 "City Temple," London, 232
 "Clapham Sect," 66
 Clarke, Captain, 39
 Clayton Church, Adelaide, 223
 Clayton, J. B., 159
 Cleaveley, Rev. G. H., 303
 Clegg, H., 159
 Clifford, Rev. John, 211, 225
 Cockington, Frank, 159, 169
 Cocks, Rev. Nicholas J., 154, 301
 Coles Family, 19, 22
 Collins Street Independent Church, Melbourne, 136, 141, 230
 Cologne, Germany, 227, 228
 Colombo, Ceylon, 255
 Colonial Missionary Society, 87
 Colton, Hon. Sir John, 195, 197
 Colton, Lady, 196, 199
 Congregationalism, 64, 70, 72, 74, 95, 124, 137, 141-43, 144, 165, 175, 185-87, 277
 Congregational Union—
 England and Wales, 173, 237
 New South Wales, 101, 114, 123, 124, 127, 129, 140
 Queensland, 63
 South Australia, 174 ff, 200, 288
 Australasia, 189
Congregationalist—
 New South Wales, 29
 South Australia, 175, 272, 274, 276, 278, 292, 299
 Connexionalism, 175
Contemporary Review, 265, 288
 Conversions, 28, 65, 76, 78, 90, 130
 Convicts, 42, 45, 58, 63, 78, 81, 87, 142, 143
 Corn Laws, Repeal of, 15, 35
 Council of Churches, Adelaide, 191, 272
 Cowper, Charles, 198
 Cowper, William, 66
 Cowper, Rev. Dr, 45
 Cox, Rev. F. W., 158, 177, 178, 254, 297
 Cox, Miss Lois, 254
 Creation, Views on, 27
 Creeds, 184, 186
 Croydon, N.S.W., 130, 131
 Cuthbertson, Rev. W., 54, 60, 139, 237
- D
- Dalby, Queensland, 72-92 *passim*
 Dale, Rev. R. W., 175, 176, 231, 238
 Daniels, Rev. Dr, 264
 Darlinghurst Gaol, 214
 Darwin, Charles, 179
 Darwin, Lady Maud, 202
 Davies, J. T., 159
 Deacons, 99, 103, 153, 156, 159, 160
 Deaconesses, 164, 176
 Death of Kirby, 264
 Delahanty, James, 210
 Delane, John Thaddeus, 36
 Democracy, 15, 24, 42, 230
 Denison, Sir William, 46
 Derrington, E. H., M.P., 195, 196
 Dibbs, Sir George, 115
 Dick, Rev. M. M'K., 147
 Dilke, Sir Charles, M.P., 231

Discipline, Church, 52, 54
 Disraeli, Benjamin, M.P., 35
 Doyle, Sir A. Conan, 81
 Dowie, Rev. J. Alex., 297-99
 Dowling, Edward, 56
 Drama, 279
 Drane, Rev. T. W. C., 61, 65-69, 73
 Drayton Parslow, England, 21
 Drink and Drunkenness, 40, 44, 89, 114, 127, 238, 249, 262
 Druitt Town, N.S.W., 99
 Dunedin, N.Z., 96, 98
 Dyer, Alfred, 243, 252, 255

E

East Sydney, 110
Edinburgh Review, 287
 Edinburgh University, 75
 Education, 106-113, 150, 177, 182, 263
 Edward VII., 23
 Elections—
 New South Wales, 109
 Queensland, 68
 Emes, Henry, 159, 160, 226
 Emigration, 16, 42, 47, 68, 158
Empire News, Sydney, 102
 Epping Forest, London, 233
 Equality, Religious, 63
 Established Church, 16, 21, 29, 30
 Etah, India, 246
 Eugenics, 216 ff
 Evangelical Revival, 17
 Evangelical Theology, 67, 76
 Evangelism, 276. *See* Conversions
Evening News, Sydney, 105
 Evolution, 179, 218
 Exeter Hall, London, 235

F

Fairbairn, Rev. A. M., 147, 231
 Fairfax, Hon. John, 55, 59, 103, 104
 Fairfax, Sir James R., 104
 Fairfax, William, 162
 Farewell Meetings—
 Woollahra, 125
 Port Adelaide, 169
 Farrow, Mrs., 164
 Federation, Australian, 110, 267
 Feeble-mindedness, 216 ff
 Fennell, W. F., 159
 Ferguson, Hon. J. F., 255
 Fiji, 265-67
 Fisher, Rev. Samuel, 228
 Fletcher, Rev. Lionel, 170, 171, 239, 291
 Fletcher, Rev. W. Roby, 178, 188, 189
 Fordyce, Rev. J., 189
Fortnightly Review, 287
 Fox, George, 32
 Franklin, Sir John, 88
 Fraser, Rev. J. G., 101
 "Fraternal" Congregational Ministers (S.A.), 288
 Free Sites for Churches, 113
 Free Trade, 110
 Freudianism, 178
 "Friends, Society of," 19, 21, 29, 243, 280
 Fry, Mrs Elizabeth, 22, 238
 "Fundamentalism," 62, 68, 179, 180
 Funeral of Kirby, 289-90

G

Gainford, Rev. Henry, 99
 George, Miss, 209

Gifford, Rev. A. E., 186
 Gilbert Islands, 264
 Gillett, Miss—*see* Brathwaite, Mrs Bevan
 Gladwin, Rev. John, 245, 251
 Gladstone, W. E., 30
 Gold Discoveries, 38, 41, 42, 63, 143, 146
 Goode, Sir Charles H., 167, 195
 "Good Friday" Closing of Hotels, 206
 Gordon, Rev. A. W., 302
 Gordon, Hon. Sir D. J., 159, 160
 Gosman, Rev. A., 189
 Grant, Rev. W. M., 127, 286
 Greenwood, Rev. James, 108, 111
 Griffith, Rev. Edward, 64, 67, 70, 73, 91, 117, 120, 121
 Griffith, Sir Samuel W., 198
 Griffith, Theophilus, 56
 Grimm, Rev. G., 138
 Gympie, Queensland, 63

H

Hall, Henry Waite, 82
 Hall, Margaretta, 83 ff. *See* Kirby, Mrs J. C.
 Halley, Rev. Robert, 60
 Halley, Rev. J. J., 60, 190
 Hamlyn, S. J., 159
 Hampden-Cook, Rev. E., 180
 Hampden, John, 19
 Hancock, F. W., 159, 160, 162
 Hannay, J. H., 159
 Harris, John H., 265
 Haynes, "Paddy," 40, 58
 Hawaii, 257 ff
 Heaton, Sir H. Henniker, 105
 Henley Beach, S.A., 288
 Henry, Matthew, 275

Heresy, 66, 119
 Herrington, Rev. Geo., 301
 Higher Criticism, 18, 179, 180, 278
 Hindmarsh, S.A., 204
 Hindmarsh Square, Adelaide, 158, 254
 Hinduism, 250 ff
 Hodge, Rev. Matthew H., 145–147, 161
 Hodge, George Payne, 159
 Hodge, G. P., Junior, 162
 Holder, Lady, 208
 Holmes, Edmond, 222
 Holt, Hon. Thomas, 60
 Home Life, 283 ff
 Home Missionary, 126 ff
 Honolulu, 256 ff
 Hope, Rev. Thomas, 169
 Hordern, Anthony, 131
 Horne, Rev. C. S., 193, 194, 233
 Howard, Rev. Henry, 273
 Houghton, S.A., 286
 Hugel, Baron von, 155
 Hughes, Rev. Hugh Price, 225, 231, 232
 Hughes, Sir W. Watson, 122
 Hunter, Rev. John, 230
 Hunter's Hill, N.S.W., 96, 98
 Hunwick, H., 159
 Hutley, Walter, 158, 159, 289
 Hymns, 26, 32, 131, 163. *See* Singing

I

Illegitimacy, Laws of, 198
 Illiteracy, 108
 Independence, 36, 124, 134, 173
 India, 218, 240 ff
 India, Mothers in, 218
 India, Women of, 243

Indore College, India, 242
 Industrial Revolution, 15
 Influence of Congregationalism on
 Politics, 178
 Institute, Buckingham, 36
 International Congregational Con-
 gress (1891), 226, 230
 Ipswich, Queensland, 61-76
 Irish in Australia, 116
 Irish in Queensland, 69, 79, 80

J

Jamaica, 145
 Jefferis, Rev. James, 122-24, 132,
 135-140, 155, 169, 185-
 188, 277
 Jenner, C. J., 159
 Jhansi, India, 242
 Johnston, Mrs, 204
 Jondaryan, Queensland, 81, 88
 Jones, Rev. Alfred, 166
 Jones, David, 74, 75, 104-05
 Jones, Daniel, 159
 Jones, J., Aberdeen, 72
 Jones, J. S., Senior, 159
 Jones, Sir Philip Sydney, 105
 Jones, Vickery Y., 159
 Jones, Rev. W. Penry, 289
 Jones, Z. H., 159
 Joyce, Rev. H. S., 171
 Jubbulpore, India, 245-47
 Jubilee, Port Adelaide, 165

K

Kalgoorlie, W. A., 165
 Kanakas, 76, 83-87
 Kandy, Ceylon, 255
 Kapunda, S.A., 178
 Karnaki Mount, India, 251

Keble, Rev. John, 17
 Kensington Gardens, Adelaide,
 162
 Kent, Rev. S. Chambers, 52, 67,
 102
 Keyneton, S.A., 248
Khedive, R.M.S., 240
 Kilkenney, S.A., 165
 Kingston, Hon. Sir C. C., 197
 King's Weigh House, London, 230
 Kirby, Aimee Coles, 282
 Kirby, Bevan, 154, 159, 280, 282
 Kirby, Grace Mildred, 282
 Kirby, Grandfather, 19
 Kirby, Grandmother, 38
 Kirby, John (Father), 19, 29-33,
 35, 40, 60
 Kirby, John Montagu, 281, 284
 Kirby, Joseph (Uncle), 23, 24, 29
 Kirby, Mary (Aunt), 38
 Kirby, Margaretta (Wife), 82,
 163, 201, 255, 270
 Kirby, Mary Bevan (Mother), 4,
 19, 22, 29, 33, 40, 75
 Kirby, Mary Maude (Daughter,
 Mrs Nicholas), 282
 Kogarah, N.S.W., 129
 Kurri-Kurri, N.S.W., 170

L

Labour in Australia, 69, 83, 116,
 142
 Lake, Rev. Octavius, 210
 Lamb, Joshua, 32
 Lambert, Rev. H. P., 303
 Land Bill, Queensland, 63
 Land Law Reform, 68
 Land, Public, 135, 136, 142
 Lang, Rev. J. Dunmore, 43, 47,
 50, 63
 Larkin, Rev. Father, 80

Launceston, Tasmania, 58
 Lay Preachers, 55, 56
 Leamington, England, 103
 Le Bean, Rev. Father, 80
 Lee, Henry Brougham, 53, 54
 Lee, Mrs M., 199
 Letters to Press, 109
 Liberalism, 36, 232
 Liberal Union, S.A., 158, 160
 Life Beyond, 180
 Lincoln, Abraham, 241
 Liverpool, England, 37
 Livesey, Joseph, 34
 Local Option, 115, 236
 Lockyer, J. H., 159
 Lodge, Sir Oliver, 81
 London, 229 ff
 London Missionary Society, 84,
 140, 145, 158, 161, 176,
 250, 254, 264
 London, University of, 122
 Long Bay Penitentiary, Sydney,
 215
 Longmore, Miss Lydia, 223
 Los Angeles, Cal., 202
 Loughhead, Rev. J. T., 303
 Lowe, Robert, M.P., 106
 Lucknow, India, 83, 247
 Lyle, Mr, 257

M

M'Coy, Rev. J., 301
 M'Encroe, Very Rev. Dean, 45
 M'Ewin, Rev. John, 204, 286
 M'Ewin, Robert, 286
 M'Lennan, Hector, 159, 199
 Madura, India, 253
 Malin, Sidney, 159
 Mansfield College, Oxford, 147,
 239
 Mansfield House Settlement,
 London, 237
 Manthorpe, Rev. Charles, 177,
 178
Marco Polo, 39, 40
 Mariners' Church, Sydney, N.S.W.,
 100
 Marriage of Kirby, 82, 83
 Mathew, T. C., 159
 Mathison, Rev. Walter, 131, 138
 Meeting, Old, Buckingham, 24,
 26, 27, 29, 32
 Meeting, New, Buckingham, 24,
 27, 229
 Melbourne, 40, 189
 Memorial Window, Port Adelaide,
 290
 Mendelism, 218, 284
 Methodism, 17, 18, 73, 76, 82,
 210
 Methodist Episcopal Church, 244,
 245
 Miall, Edward, M.P., 176
 Michelmores, T., 159
 Miles, "Tailor," 37
 Milne, Rev. David, 302
 Ministry, Training, etc., 73, 154,
 187, 190, 224
 Missions, Foreign, 241 ff
 American, 244, 253, 259, 261,
 264
 Industrial, 241
 Methodist, 267
 Presbyterian, 246
 Roman Catholic, 241, 245,
 252, 261
 Moberley, Rev. Edmund G., 83
 Modernism, 180
 Money-lenders foiled, 287
 Montessori, Maria, 222 ff, 273
 Moore, Rev. Edward, 95, 127,
 128, 300
 Moorhouse, Rev. Miles, 196, 301
 Moreton Bay, Queensland, 63
 Morris, Mrs. C. R., 159
 Mortimer, A. W., 162

Mothers' Meeting, 163
 Mullens, Josiah, 114, 116
 Murray, Hon. David, 195
 Murray, J., 159
Murray Pioneer, 63
 Mystical Experiences, 81

N

Neitenstein, Captain, 215
 Nelson, Rev. A. C., 303
 Nelson, Rev. H. G., 302
 Nelson, Rev. John, 248, 249
 Nelson, Mrs. John, 249
 Nelson, New Zealand, 96, 98
 Newcastle, N.S.W., 100
 New College, London, 122
 Newman, John H., Cardinal, 37
 Newport Pagnell Academy, 66
 New South Wales, 46, 63, 93-
 139, 198, 209, 220, 223
 "New Theology," 183, 184
 Newton, Rev. John, 66
 New Zealand, 94, 96, 98, 121,
 171, 199, 201, 206, 214
 Nicholls, Mrs. E. W., 209
Nineteenth Century Review, 201
 "Nock Act," 203, 205
 Nock, David, M.P., 203
 Nonconformity, 15, 17, 18, 19,
 28 ff., 66, 239
 Norman, A. E., 186
 Nott, Randolph, 138
 Nun, Affair of Escaped, 117-22
 Nurse, Death of Kirby's, 20

O

Ocean Street, Woollahra, 91-102,
 125
 Oldfield, E. H., 159
 Opium Evil, 246, 247
 O'Quinn, Bishop J., 68

Orchard, Rev. W. E., 230
 Ordination of Kirby, 67, 73
 Organization of Congregationalism,
 124, 156
 Orpheus Society, Port Adelaide,
 162
 O'Sullivan, P., 69
 Oxford, England, 17, 31, 239
 "Oxford Movement," 17, 18

P

Paddington, N.S.W., 34
 Pageants, Sacred, 227, 280, 281
 Pago-Pago, Samoa, 257
 Painting, Interest in, 31
 Pandita, Ramabai, 243
 Paramatta, N.S.W., 46, 48, 102
 Paris, 82, 285
 Parker, Rev. Arthur, 250
 Parker, Rev. Joseph, 239
 Parkes, Sir Henry, 24, 43, 107,
 110-115
 Parkin College, Adelaide, 122,
 188, 230, 271, 279
 Parkin Mission, S.A., 182
 Parliament—
 Queensland, 68, 76
 S.A., 207
 Parseeism, 251
 Pastoral Work of Kirby, 149
 Payne, Rev. George, 145
 Pearce, Rev. John, 214
 Personal Characteristics, 291 ff
 Philippine Islands, 256
 Pierce, Rev. T. E., 302
 Pioneers in Australia, 63, 70
 Pitt Street Congregational Church,
 Sydney, 51-60, 74, 89, 103,
 108, 122, 123, 138, 154, 162
 Plunkett, Sir J. H., 220
 Politics, 68, 204
 Poll-tax on Chinese, 50

Port Adelaide, S.A., 140-72, 256,
283, 284
Port Adelaide Congregational
Church, 75, 138, 144-47,
169, 178
Port Adelaide News, 195
Port Jackson, N.S.W., 42
Port Phillip, Vic., 40, 145
Pottie, John, 55
Pratt, Rev. F. V., 186
Prayer, 52, 76, 96, 103, 161
Preaching—
Ipswich, 64
Open Air, 56
Port Adelaide, 147
Supply Work, 60
Premillennarianism, 180
Presbyterianism, 47, 50, 71, 74,
87, 138, 187
Presbyterian Missions—*see* Missions
President, Australasian Cong.
Union, 189
Preston, England, 34, 162
Preterist View of Second Advent,
180
Price, Rev. C. T., 229
Price, Rev. John, 301
Price, Hon. Thomas, 167
Prince-Consort, Albert, 23
Prison Reform, 214, 215
Probation System, 214
Prohibition League—*see* Alliance,
Temperance
Prohibition, 210
Protestantism, 68, 80
Provident Fund for Ministers,
158, 169
Public School League, N.S.W.,
108-113, 177
Pulsford, Rev. Frank, 132, 223
Purity, Social, 178, 196 ff, 211,
232, 233
Pymont, N.S.W., 61, 130, 131,
138

Q

Quaife, Rev. Barzillai, 101, 102
Quakers—*see* Friends, Society of
Queensland, 48, 49, 61, 63-92,
179, 198, 209
Queen Victoria, 15, 23, 234

R

Raban, Miss, 31
Races at Dalby, 73
Radicalism, 19
Raffles, Rev. Thomas, 89
Raikes, Robert, 37
Railway, First in N.S.W., 46
Ranford, H., 159
Rayner, Rev. George, 292, 293
Reading, Richard, 103, 104
Rechabites, Order of, 238
Redfern, N.S.W., 52
Register Newspaper, 151, 200,
280
Renmark, S.A., 182
Rentoul, R. R., 216
Resignation of Pastorate, 167
Ritchie, Hon. G., 223
Robertson, Rev. Joseph, 169
Robjohns, Rev. Leonard, 281
Rogers, Rev. J. Guinness, 176
Rogers, Rev. R., 127
Roma, Queensland, 87, 129
Roman Catholics—*see* Catholics,
Roman and Missions (Roman
Catholic)
Roseby, Rev. Thomas, 60, 227,
300
Ross, Rev. Dr, 51, 52, 59
Rousseau, J. J., 89
Routh, Rebecca, 32
Routh, Richard, 31
Rowe, Rev. W., 26
Russell, J. Stuart, 180

S

- Sailors, 100
 Salem, India, 254
 Salisbury, S.A., 181
 Salvation Army, 202, 245
 Samoa, 257
 Saturday Afternoon Closing of
 Liquor Bars, 205, 209
 School Infant, 31
 Scotch Characteristics, 148
 Scott, Benjamin, 197, 233, 235-
 238
 Scriptures, Holy, 22, 24, 25, 78,
 88, 90, 113, 157, 190
 Seamen's Home, Port Adelaide, 157
 Second Advent, 180
 Self-Government in New South
 Wales, 43
 Self-Government in Queensland,
 63
 Semaphore, S.A., 144, 166, 283,
 287
 Sermons, 25, 26, 55, 59, 65, 148,
 168
 Sheard, F., 159
 Short, Benjamin, 94-99, 129
 Sibford School, Banbury, 33, 239
 Sibree, Rev. James, 27
 Silver Jubilee of Ministry, 167
 Simpson, Miss M., 223
 Singing, 26, 161, 162. *See*
 Hymns
 Six O'Clock Closing of Liquor
 Bars, 208, 209, 210
 Slater, Rev. Dr, 246
 Slatyer, Rev. William, 52
 Slaughter, Thomas, 76, 86
 Slavery, 22. *See* Kanakas
 Smeaton, Colonel T. H., M.P.,
 207, 208
 Smith, Sir Edwin T., and Lady,
 277
 Smith, Leslie S., 152
 Smith, Walter, 99
 Smoking, Horror of, 285
 Social Purity—*see* Purity, Social
 Social Purity Society of S.A.,
 196 ff
 Social Reform, 193-225
 Social Service Bureau, 202
 Socinianism, 67
 Somerset, Lady Henry, 237
 South Australia, 94, 113, 115, 122,
 141-43, 150
 South Molton, Devon, 145
 South Seas, 84, 85
 Springhill College, Birmingham,
 26, 54
 Spurgeon, Rev. Charles Haddon,
 94
 Stacy, Rev. E. J., 151, 159, 302
 State Children's Council, 158
 Stead, W. T., 197, 231, 232, 238,
 243
 Stirling, Sir E. C., 199
 Stone, J., 159
 Stow, Rev. T. Quinton, 142,
 174
 Students, Theological, 53, 62. *See*
 Theological Colleges, Minis-
 try, Training of
 Styles, Hon. A. W., 202
 Sugar Growing in Queensland, 86
 Sunday Observance, 20, 22, 24,
 27, 28, 32, 37, 72, 73
 Sunday Closing of Liquor Bars,
 205
 Sunday School, 25, 28, 37, 53, 74,
 76, 150, 152, 154, 182, 273,
 274
 Sunderland, Rev. J. P., 85, 135,
 139, 140
 Surrey Hills, Melbourne, 171
 Sydney, N.S.W., 40, 41, 45, 46,
 47, 48, 58, 65, 74, 75, 87,
 91, 103, 114, 123, 189, 222,
 288

Sydney Morning Herald, 43, 58,
103, 109, 114
Sykes, Rev. A. Depledge, 186
Symon, Sir Josiah, K.C., 287

T

Tapp, Rev. Cecil E., 152
Tapp, W. W., 159
Tasmania, 58, 141, 199, 220
Taylor, Bishop, 244
Taylor, Harry S., 63
Tea-drinking, 44
Temperance Reform, 202 ff. *See*
Drink, Total Abstinence, etc.
Temperance Alliance—*see* Alliance
Theological Colleges, 182, 188,
224, 274, 278, 279
Thoburn, Bishop, 244
Thomas, Mr., 75
Thornton, John, 66
Times Newspaper, 36, 235
Tingwick, Bucks, 37
Toase, Rev. C., 82
Todd, Thomas, 159, 160
Toowoomba, Queensland, 64, 72,
86
Total Abstinence, 33, 40, 44, 54,
115, 156, 248. *See* Drink
Trades Unionism, 42
Training of Ministry, 64-66, 73,
174, 187, 188, 190, 274, 277
Trichinopoly, India, 252, 253
Trivett, Rev. F., 301
Tuticorin, India, 254, 255

U

Union College, Adelaide, 122, 187
Unions, County Congregational,
173
Unitarianism, 17, 66, 279

United States, 219
Universities, 31, 123
University of Adelaide, 122, 282
University of Sydney, 60, 154

V

Vardon, Hon. Senator, 169
Vaughan, Bishop, 107
Vice, State Regulation of, 194, 198
Victoria, State of, 38, 49, 145,
146, 201, 206, 209
Victoria—*see* Queen
Virgin Birth of Christ, 279
Voice and Voice Production, 149,
190

W

Wailles, Walter, 99
Wakefield, Edward Gibbon, 16,
142
Wallace, Russell, 18, 179
Waraker, Rev. J. T., 64
Warren, W., 159
Warwick, Queensland, 70, 71
Watson, Rev. Percival, 281
Wellington, N.Z., 189
Wellington, Duke of, 24
Wentworth, William C., 43
Wesley, Rev. John, 17, 19, 268
West, Rev. John, 58
West Bromwich, England, 237
West Maitland, N.S.W., 64
West Moreton, Queensland, 68, 69
Western Australia, 141, 199
Westminster Town Hall, London,
237
Weston, J. R., 159
Weymouth, Rev. E. W., 171, 289
Whalley, Rev. D. T., 171
"White Australia," 50, 87, 116
Whitehill, A., 159

- Wiles, Rev. H., 56, 300
 Wilkie, Rev. John, 242, 244
 Wilks, G., 159
 Willcox, Hon. C., 166
 Windeyer, Mr Justice, 198
 Wiveliscombe, Somerset, 145
 "Woman, a Queen Regnant," 200
 Women in Liquor Bars, 206
 Women Police, 202
 Women's Christian Temperance Union, S.A., 202, 203, 206, 207, 209, 223, 290
 Women's Christian Temperance Union, Victoria, 209
 Women's Guild, Port Adelaide, 163
 Women's Non-Party Association, S.A., 202
 Women's Suffrage in S.A., 199-201
 Women's Suffrage League, 199
 Wood Street Congregational Church, Cardiff, 238
 Woollahra, 120. *See also* Ocean Street
 Worship, Public, 161
 Wycliffe, John, 19

Y

 Yatala, S.A., 181
 Yeomanry, Royal Bucks, 23, 26
 Young Christians' Union, Port Adelaide, 155
 Young Men's Christian Association, 125, 202
 Young Men's Society, Port Adelaide, 154, 196
 Young People, Work among, 65, 66, 150, 152, 153, 273-75
 Young Women's Bible Class, Port Adelaide, 164

Z

 Zoroastrianism, 252

Kiek, E.S.

92

K631

An apostle in Australia

92

K631

